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JAMES HUGHES MEREDITH

Henry Adams's Life of George Cabot Lodge: A Portrait of the
Artist as an Alienated Man
(Under the direction of CARL RAPP)

Henry Adams's Life of George Cabot Lodge presents the biography of a minor poet whose birth into one of Boston's most prominent families ironically may have been an obstacle towards his reaching literary success, for reasons which seem strikingly similar to the biographer's own difficulties as he articulates them in The Education of Henry Adams (1907). The method of this examination has been organized into four chapters: (1) a biographical examination of the relationship between Adams and Lodge (paying special attention to their rather extensive correspondence); (2) a comparative reading of the Life in the context of other later works, such as The Education and Mont-Saint Michel and Chartres; (3) a detailed comparison of the Life with other biographical portraits of Lodge, such as in Edith Wharton's A Backward Glance; (4) and finally, an explanation of how Adams's biography of Lodge fits into the American literary tradition, especially as had been handed down from Adams's Puritan forebears.

My aim is to present the most complete critical study of this important text to date. The first chapter includes a thorough examination of the correspondence between Adams and Lodge, since Adams did not include any of this correspondence in his biography of Lodge. Through a comparative reading of the biography with Adams's

masterpieces, the second chapter demonstrates how Adams shapes the material of Lodge's life into a statement about the condition of culture in the modern world. The third chapter then compares other contemporary accounts of Lodge's life with Adams's biography and examines other writers' reactions to the biography itself. Finally, in the last chapter, my dissertation examines how Adams transformed his memoir into a book rich in complexity. Whereas in his later works Adams had transformed his own experiences into various forms of Puritan literature (the autobiography and jeremiad, for example), he now would have to transform the experience of someone else into another form--the spiritual biography.

INDEX WORDS: Henry Adams, George Cabot Lodge, Biography, Puritan Spiritual Biography, Mont-Saint Michel and Chartres, The Education

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HENRY ADAMS'S LIFE OF GEORGE CABOT LODGE:
A PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST AS AN ALIENATED MAN

by

JAMES HUGHES MEREDITH
B.A., Memphis State University, 1979
M.A., Saint Louis University, 1984

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

1994

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HENRY ADAMS'S LIFE OF GEORGE CABOT LODGE:
A PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST AS AN ALIENATED MAN

by

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Approved:

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July 20, 1994
Date

For Kathi.

I want to thank Dr. Carl Rapp for his generous help and encouragement. I also want to thank Drs. Walter and Marjorie Gordon for their friendship, support, and prayers.

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Introduction. Henry Adams's Life of George Cabot Lodge:

A Portrait of the Artist as an Alienated Man

Henry Adams's Life of George Cabot Lodge presents the biography of a minor poet whose birth into one of Boston's most prominent families ironically may have been an obstacle towards his reaching literary success, for reasons which seem strikingly similar to the biographer's own difficulties as he articulates them in The Education of Henry Adams (1907). R. P. Blackmur writes that the biography of Lodge was written in 1909 and 1910 (Lodge died in 1908) and published in 1911, which were the years in which Adams finished his speculative essays on history and prepared his revision of the Chartres. With the imaginative energy of the twelfth century firmly in mind as man's highest standard in such matters, he could not help concluding that in the twentieth century poetic energy was, like Nirvana, out of season. Let us see along what lines he reached that conclusion. (230)

Besides wanting to pay homage to a close friend, Adams ultimately decided to write the biography because, by having Lodge exemplify the alienated intellectual in the modern

world, he thus could refine the themes he had previously explored in his autobiography (and to some degree in Mont-Saint Michel and Chartres). More than anything else, the Lodge biography ends up being important for what it tells us about Henry Adams. However, as a more recent biographer of Lodge has argued, this book "has been widely ignored" by critics, although the Life is "vital to an understanding of Adams's late writings" (Crowley "Suicide" 189). Basically, because several critics have pointed to this book as evidence of Adams's diminished talents--when a careful study of the book in fact demonstrates otherwise--understanding this biography is now clearly essential to Adams scholarship. Although the biography of Lodge does not exhibit the "imaginative energy" of Adams's other, greater books, it certainly shows that--despite his advanced age--Adams had remained a very skillful writer to the end.

Only five critical studies have given more than cursory attention to the Life of Lodge: J. C. Levenson, The Mind and Art of Henry Adams (1957); George Hochfield, Henry Adams: An Introduction and Interpretation (1962); Ernest Samuels, Henry Adams: The Major Phase (1964); Melvin Lyon, Symbol and Idea in Henry Adams (1970); and John W. Crowley, "The Suicide of the Artist: Henry Adams's Life of George Cabot Lodge" (1973).¹ Although these studies offer interesting ideas about the relationship between Lodge and Adams, each, in some way, falls short of providing a

complete scholarly analysis. Moreover, primary materials (such as the publication of The Letters of Henry Adams in 1988) and a great deal more criticism concerning Adams's work have appeared since the last of these studies was published over twenty years ago. Unquestionably, the Life has been a woefully neglected text.

In one way or another, then, all of these previous studies inadequately cover Adams's biography of Lodge. Crowley, for example, states that

as a coda to The Education, The Life of Lodge denies the shaping power of the imagination which Adams seems to affirm in The Education. The Life demonstrates that despite its attractions, the life of the artist, especially of the type bourgeois-bostonien, leads to suffocation in the modern wasteland. ("Suicide" 203)

Crowley argues that in The Education Adams "seems to affirm" that the imagination singularly stands above the other controlling forces in life. The biography would therefore project an even more pessimistic outlook towards contemporary culture than is found in The Education, largely because Crowley himself holds that artistic imagination had tragically failed Lodge. Yet Crowley seems to ignore textual evidence that Adams was just as pessimistic in The Education as he seems to be in the Life; the imagination is a powerful force in Adams's conception of the universe, but

it is not unambiguously affirmed, as Crowley seems to imply. A lack of artistic imagination never seems to be the problem for Lodge, particularly as Adams has portrayed him. The reason for Lodge's lack of literary success is far more complex than Crowley seems to realize.

Moreover, Lyon states that in the Life Adams "returns to The Education's sense of reality as chaos," and that in both books "he concerns himself more directly with how best to live in such a world," but not about how to control the world through the imagination (160). By forcing the basic theme of this book into a dialectic of "simple nature" and "complex nature" (160), Lyon also misses an essential point in his analysis. Lyon states that Adams portrayed Lodge as possessing a simple nature which would have been diametrically opposed to the complex one Adams held as his own. Textual and biographical evidence, however, suggests that Lodge could almost have been an intellectual clone of Adams, with respect to his exhibition of complexity and in his ideas about modern culture.

Whereas Crowley's and Lyon's studies are faulty in their analysis of the textual and biographical evidence, the other critical examinations are rather incomplete. For example, in Henry Adams, Samuels observes that in his memoir of Lodge Adams suppressed completely the significant role he himself played in the poet's life. He quoted from none of Lodge's many

letters to him touching on the problems of poetry and art nor, of course, did he cite any of his own. (424)

Over and beyond the old-fashioned reticence he may have felt in writing about himself, Adams seems, according to this account, to have deliberately suppressed his own role in the biography as a way to distance himself from his subject (almost as an act of exculpation); however, Samuels does not make it entirely clear why he should want to do so (except to suggest wrongly that Adams was somewhat embarrassed by the book's subject). J. C. Levenson, on the other hand, states in The Mind and Art of Henry Adams that when

Lodge uttered his second-hand convictions on the degradation of modern society, the failure of the American man, or the need for art to be bad in order to succeed, the Adamsish phrases make the older man seem to have been a corrupter of youth.

(386)

Adams's self-effacement seems here to be explained as an effort to conceal the extent of his own influence on Lodge, but this assumption takes for granted that the real Lodge was simply a creature of Adams. To demonstrate exactly what intellectual role Adams did play in the young man's life, and more importantly, the relation of this role to the strategy of presentation in Adams's biography, these omitted

letters between Lodge and Adams need a more complete analysis than we have seen thus far.

Furthermore, although the biography is about Lodge, much is necessarily revealed in it about Adams himself since the situation the book describes is so similar to that of "Henry Adams" in Adams's autobiography. For example, in Henry Adams: An Introduction and Interpretation, George Hochfield writes that the Life of Lodge is

perhaps the first American work of criticism to take as its motivating idea the inescapable alienation of the artist from society, and it represents that alienation as the cause of the unfulfillment and failure of the artist. It is with this image of the alienated artist that Adams identifies himself in the last of his books.

(142)

Note that Hochfield classifies this book as criticism rather than biography, thus suggesting that Adams was straying from a conventional biographical mode. Although for some critics this distinction may be meaningless, R. P. Blackmur clarifies this point by arguing that this "book is something more than either a memoir or a tribute; it is also an essay in the criticism of the poetic imagination" (230). Blackmur continues his argument by stating that Adams's criticism here demonstrated "the predicament of poetry and poets in the last quarter of the Bostonian nineteenth century and th

first years of the twentieth" (230). Hochfield also considers Lodge a representative figure, much like the characterization of "Henry Adams" in The Education, who was also rhetorically shaped to fit Adams's theme of modern alienation. Still, Hochfield's pioneering treatment of the Life borders on the cursory, although his arguments about the thematic links between this book and The Education are valid. Hochfield's main fault is that he inadequately demonstrates his assumptions about Adams's identification with Lodge. Therefore, as has just been argued, the critical opinion about this biography has proven to be both too inconsistent and inadequate for such a major literary figure.

To remedy the inadequacy of the existing scholarship, and to reconsider the assumptions or conceptions on which it depends, my dissertation thoroughly examines Adams's Life of George Cabot Lodge. The method of this examination has been organized into four chapters): (1) a biographical examination of the relationship between Adams and Lodge (paying special attention to their rather extensive correspondence); (2) a comparative reading of the Life in the context of other later works, such as The Education and Mont-Saint Michel and Chartres; (3) a detailed comparison of the Life with other biographical portraits of Lodge, such as in Edith Wharton's A Backward Glance; (4) and finally, an explanation of how Adams's biography of Lodge fits into the

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American literary tradition, especially as had been handed down from Adams's Puritan forebears.

My aim, in the following pages, is to present the most complete critical study of this important text to date. The first chapter includes a thorough examination of the correspondence between Adams and Lodge, since one controversial aspect has been that Adams did not include any of this correspondence in his biography of Lodge. This correspondence proves to be valuable not only in what it implies about Adams's relationship with Lodge, but also in what it shows us about their views concerning Conservative Christian Anarchism and the craft of writing in general. Besides assembling all the facts that are known about the Lodge-Adams friendship, the first chapter (purposefully relying on sources outside of the biography) also includes a close examination of Adams's overall opinion of Lodge's poetry and finally his controversial decision to undertake the writing of the biography. Through a comparative reading of the biography with Adams's masterpieces, the second chapter demonstrates how Adams shapes the material of Lodge's life into a statement about the condition of culture in the modern world (which was a primary concern of Adams, especially in these later writings). This second chapter particularly relies on new assumptions that are made in chapter one about Adams's relationship with Lodge. The third chapter then compares other contemporary accounts of

Lodge's life with Adams's biography and examines other writers' reactions to the biography itself. Besides Adams and Wharton, Lodge also had another very important friend to write a memoir of him, Theodore Roosevelt--the 26th President of the United States. To see how each writer shaped the raw materials of Lodge's life into a memoir--a process which ultimately says a great deal about the writer as well--this chapter will compare and contrast these different biographies. Finally, in the last chapter, my dissertation examines how Adams transformed his memoir into a book rich in complexity. Instead of using a strictly biographical mode of describing the everyday details of Lodge's life, Adams was working out of the old New England Puritan tradition, where the inner man and his spiritual relation to the world are the most essential aspects to describe. Whereas in his later works Adams had transformed his own experiences into various forms of Puritan literature (the autobiography and jeremiad, for example), he now would have to transform the experience of someone else into another form--the spiritual biography.

Note

¹If quality were the only measure here, R. P. Blackmur's essay, "The Revival" (in Henry Adams), could be considered the sixth study; its four pages of analysis on the Life are unquestionably valuable, but too scant to be considered a

sustained analysis. However, to support different arguments, this essay is quoted throughout the dissertation. Also, Crowley's essay was transformed into the introduction to the 1978 facsimile edition and is essentially a reprint.

1. The Conservative Christian Anarchists

As the correspondence between Adams and Lodge unquestionably demonstrates, throughout the short life of Lodge, Adams had acted primarily as a sensitive friend and professional mentor. In the beginning, the relationship was clearly that of the more experienced uncle and the unseasoned nephew. For example, in a letter dated 17 January 1897, Adams instructs Lodge to let "us teach you, my son,--to hold your tongue" (Letters VI 451). The most important words to note here are "my son." As a fatherless man who had wanted children of his own, Adams naturally took the role as mentor early, and Lodge seems to have eagerly responded to the older man as well.¹ Their relationship would eventually mature into a semblance of equality, especially since their interests in the "doctrine" of the Conservative Christian Anarchists would increasingly meld them intellectually.

Adams and Lodge were the only rigorous members of the Conservative Christian Anarchists "Church," according to Adams, in the "Teufelsdruck" chapter of The Education (1090)--although Joseph Stickney had once been a member, he would eventually drop out before his death. Much of the doctrine seemingly had been worked out in parlor

conversations because the correspondence between Lodge and Adams only provides fragments of Conservative Christian Anarchism; the philosophy seems to exist somewhere in between a private joke and a serious discussion of reality. Crowley describes the Conservative Christian Anarchists as more a "playful intellectual pose than a rigorous philosophy" (Lodge 50). Concerning this ironic situation, in The Mind and Art of Henry Adams, J. C. Levenson writes:

Adams accepted a world in which religion and society no longer provided sanctions for individual conduct. Within that world he chooses, on his own responsibility, to conserve the liberal values among which he had lived for as long as he could remember and, ultimately, the Christian values of which he had acquired a personal memory after great pains. (296)

Thus, the aims of the Conservative Christian Anarchist were inherently contradictory. On a personal level, Adams wanted the freedom to determine his own moral conduct, but also to maintain the social stability that Christian values could provide, although Christianity as a bulwark of social stability had been in eclipse for some time.

On the other hand, Lodge clearly wanted to extend the philosophy beyond the personal and into his professional interests. Crowley argues that the Conservative Christian Anarchism "informed Lodge's conception of poetry as well as

of fiction" (Lodge 60), and Adams was well aware of (and appreciated) this fact. Crowley also argues that the role of the poet was that of a "prophet-seer who chanted the 'Truth' to an indifferent or hostile society" (Lodge 60). Lodge illustrates the situation of the alienated artist in "The Poet":

He comes last of the long processional,
Last of the perfect lovers, doomed as they
To live ever more lonely day by day
By all rejected and condemned by all. . . .
His heaven is godless since his faith is whole;
No thing but finds in him a perfect love,
No flower, no star but buds within his soul.

(Poems I, 159)

As this poem indicates, any worldly travails of the poet are compounded by the loss of God in "heaven." Essentially, in order for the poet to assert his own artistic freedom, he first has to reject the comforts of organized religion; thus, it is not a denial of a god, but a conscious repudiation of the one handed down by culture. According to Lodge, the artist is ironically like Christ had been when he was alive, both alienated on earth and separated from heaven: forced to find life's meaning "within his soul." Although these tenets of the heroic artist are easily discernible in this poem, Lodge seemed to struggle in articulating his philosophy elsewhere.

In Lodge's posthumously published novel The Genius of the Commonplace, for example, he describes the rise and fall Nicolas Crannard, a ruthless New York financier. Crowley describes Crannard as a "Conservative Christian Anarchists manque'" (Lodge 57), who had been "taught that the only significant failure in life is the failure to make money" (Lodge 56). Despite what Crowley argues, however, Crannard better represents a false prophet of Conservative Christian Anarchism, rather than merely a failed one. According to Lodge's and Adams' thinking, a Conservative is someone skeptical of finding the "right" political or social solution to the volatilities of social life. Moreover, because the teachings of Christianity renounce the world and ultimately nullify the vanity of all secular or theological propositions, a Christian would be a meta-skeptic. Finally, an Anarchist is one who accepts the "natural" volatility of nature: thus, nothing in nature is ruled into being except by the same forces that automatically, or even simultaneously, rule it out. Therefore, because all three of these aspects of the philosophy together seem contradictory, someone who would completely correspond to the idea of the Conservative Christian Anarchists would have to do so with a constant sense of irony. And except for Crannard's anarchic tendencies, neither Adams nor Lodge would consider him philosophical enough even to be a failed Conservative Christian Anarchist.

Underscoring this point (and seemingly contradicting himself), Crowley argues that "because Crannard has channeled all his life-force into money-making, he never discovers the spiritual dimension in his anarchism" (Lodge 57). Eventually able to acquire both wealth and social position, the key to Crannard's success has been his understanding that the mores of society are "nothing but the world's timidities deified, Gods of sawdust, bogeys, shadows!" (Lodge Genius 173). Crannard justifies his life by stating that "I have done no more than was necessary for success, and success and success alone is its own justification" (Lodge Genius 174). Because of his single-minded desire for money, even Crannard's role as an anarchist is therefore limited.

Philosophically opposed to Crannard are Lanthorpe, a Socialist, and Verdren, a Darwinist. Whereas Crannard is a capitalist, who sees life only in terms of material success and individual power, Verdren is a Darwinian ideologue, who can see life only as raw force. Following Lodge's and Adams' definition of Conservative Christian Anarchism, therefore, both Crannard and Verdren would be ignorant of man's divine (Christian or spiritual) potential. In a conversation with Crannard, Verdren tells him that

[y]ou are like a man who counts on everyone playing the game according to rules and then wins by breaking the rules himself. That is you profit

by the fact that the game has rules, for your calculation is that no one but yourself is sufficiently strong and courageous to dare to break them. You know that the rules are merely formulas and nothing more. You pretend to respect them and don't. You are not superstitious, you are not prejudiced, and the world is both. (Lodge Genius 174)

At first this commentary appears to define the anarchist part of the Conservative Christian Anarchist--as someone who is alienated from the petty limitations of the world. Yet as Verdren continues his observation, the characteristics he describes start to apply more to a capitalistic anarchist (rather than to Adams and Lodge, who were artistic philosophers of Conservative Christian Anarchism and enemies of commercialism):

Obviously you must win. But I warn you! It's not entirely safe to base one's whole life on the supposition that no one else will perceive that the rules are merely formulas devoid of importance. Someone always may, you always risk being attacked by sheer reality, and you know yourself how powerless are all conventions and morals, all the safeguards of your life, in short, against such an attack, for it is precisely by

such unlawful warfare that you have won success.

(Lodge Genius 174-175)

Obviously, with the premise that in a contest of survival, another more powerful creature may just be around the corner, Verdren is attacking Crannard's egotism. Crowley argues that "Verdren's Social Darwinism sees struggle for survival only in animal terms of superior strength" (Lodge 58). Therefore, as a capitalistic anarchist, Crannard may be also creating an environment which will just as likely destroy him, as will make him rich.

The husband of a women Crannard had a love affair with, Dudley Arenton, ultimately clubs him to death. Right before he was murdered, in what he considered was a savvy power play, Crannard ironically had just jilted Dudley's wife--so he could marry a more socially-established debutante. With his wife's distraught confession of adultery, the normally dull Dudley had been driven to animalistic rage because his routine world had collapsed. Interestingly, it is Dudley's wife, Grace, who eventually seems to understand the divine potential within humanity that Lodge and Adams thought was essential. Crowley argues that

[a]roused by Crannard's sexuality, Grace progresses from feeling new sexual depths in herself to an intuition of her spiritual depths. At the end, she has begun the search for the

"soul's inheritance" that all Lodge's Conservative Christian Anarchists must make. (Lodge 58)

Although in his breaking free from the constraints of society, Crannard does demonstrate heroic potential, his monomaniacal desire for success destroys him before he is ever able to find his spiritual self. On the other hand, Grace breaks free from a loveless marriage and begins the process of self-discovery that makes her an emerging hero. In the novel's end, Grace states: "You see I don't know what anything means to me,--even life itself. I have everything to examine, to discover, to think out for myself" (Lodge Genius 182). However, if Grace was to have been the novel's protagonist and the representative Conservative Christian Anarchist, then Lodge left her characterization underdeveloped.

As Adams playfully describes the philosophy, the chief aim of the anarchists was to "attain the end; and to hasten it" (The Education 1091). The anarchists were "bound to accelerate progress . . . in order to penetrate the beyond, and [to] satisfy man's destiny by reaching the largest synthesis in its ultimate contradiction" (The Education 1091). Adams goes on to write that the conservative [C]hristian anarchists . . . drew life from Hegel and Schopenhauer rightly understood. By the necessity of their philosophical descent, each member of the

fraternity denounced the other as unequal to his lofty task and inadequate to grasp it. Of course, no third member could be so much as considered, since the great principle of contradiction could be expressed only by opposites; and no agreement could be conceived, because anarchy, by definition, must be chaos and this law of contradiction was itself agreement, a restriction of personal liberty inconsistent with freedom; but the "larger synthesis" admitted a limited agreement provided it were strictly confined to the end of larger contradiction. (Education 1091)

Adams continues this description by stating that the "great end of all philosophy--the 'larger synthesis'--[could be] attained, but the process was arduous, and while Adams, as the older member, assumed to declare the principle, Lodge necessarily denied both the assumption and the principle in order to assure its truth" (Education 1091). Thus, "Adams proclaimed that in the last synthesis, order and anarchy were one, but that the unity was chaos" (Education 1091). In other words, mutability was not only the natural order of things, but as time "progressed," the rate of change would increase to the point that the acceleration itself would become the focus of interest. Thus, the great thinkers of Adams' age would continually have to synthesize this accelerating chaos into their art or philosophy, as ideas

became irrelevant not from day to day, but from one moment to the next.

Echoing the primary theme of Mont-Saint Michel and Chartres, Adams argues that if the anarchists ever needed to find order, then they would have to go back to the twelfth century "where their [the anarchist's] thought had enjoyed its thousand years of reign" (Education 1092). According to Adams, that century was the last time philosophy, art, and society had all been unified. Essentially, Adams argues that the

conservative [C]hristian anarchists could have no associate, no object, no faith except the nature of nature itself; and his "larger synthesis" had only the fault of being so supremely true that even the highest obligation of duty could scarcely oblige Lodge to deny it in order to prove it.

Only the self-evident truth that no philosophy of order--except the Church--had ever satisfied the philosopher reconciled the conservative [C]hristian anarchist to prove his own.

(Education 1092)

Admittedly, as they are now, these notions were also hard to grasp; Adams writes that "these ideas were so far in advance of the age that hardly more people could understand them than understood Wagner or Hegel" (The Education 1092). As

is the case elsewhere in his work, the key to these ideas exists in Adams' irony.

Besides their common philosophical interests, Adams and Lodge also had many other similarities as well. In fact, the relationship between Adams and Lodge not only had its basis in a personal friendship, but it reflected a common historical and cultural situation whose roots went back to the founding of the country. Hence, Hotchfield writes that "Lodge, like Adams, was a thoroughbred Bostonian whose forebears included men of great distinction in American political life" (141). Adams had descended from two great families: the Brooks family, who had been a prestigious Bostonian family for generations; and the Adams family, who had already provided the nation with two Presidents (John and his son John Quincy--Adams' great grandfather and grandfather, respectively). On the other hand, Lodge had descended from three great families: the Cabots, Davises, and Lodges, all of whom were as Brahmin Bostonian as one could possibly be.

In the Life, Adams writes about the genesis of the Lodge family's influence in America:

one of the best-known and most strongly marked of these numerous families [of influence in Massachusetts], was--and still is--that of the Cabots, whose early story has been told by Henry Cabot Lodge in his life of the best-known member

of the family, his great-grandfather, George Cabot, Senator of the United States. (2)

Alden Hatch, in The Lodges of Massachusetts, also describes this powerful genealogy, again with the towering figure of George Cabot at the top. Hatch writes that he stood six feet tall in an age of smaller men. He had big features, a sea-ruddied complexion, dark hair, unpowdered but queued in the late eighteenth-century style, and sparkling sea-blue eyes. . . .

So he looms in the background of the Lodges of Massachusetts. For not only did they owe their acceptance into Boston's exclusive elite to John Ellerton Lodge's marriage to his [George Cabot's] granddaughter, but Cabot's integrity, ideals, and conservative principles set the tone and substance of their political and economic thinking unto the fourth generation, and even to the sixth. Change a few names here, an idiom or two there, and the speeches of his great-grandson, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, and those of his great-great-great-grandsons--Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. and former Governor John Davis Lodge of Connecticut [George's sons]--echo the thought of the patriarch himself. (1)

George Cabot's great-grandson and George Cabot Lodge's father, Henry Cabot Lodge, had been a favorite student of Adams at Harvard; soon after his return to its editorship, Adams asked his former student to act as assistant editor of the North American Review. About being asked to take the job, Henry Cabot Lodge would later write in his Early Memories, "nothing has ever come to me which gave me so much joy as that offer from Henry Adams" (240).

For the rest of his life, Adams would remain a close friend of the Lodge family. In The Education, Adams writes that his

relations had been those of elder brother or uncle since 1871 when Cabot Lodge had left his examination-papers on Assistant Professor Adams' desk, to take the train for Washington to get married. With Lodge himself, as scholar, fellow instructor, co-editor of the North American Review and political reformer, from 1873 to 1878, he had worked intimately, but with him afterwards as politician he had not much relation. . . . (1043)

In 1879 the Lodge-Adams relationship became all the more intimate when Brooks Adams married the sister of Henry Cabot Lodge's wife (Hatch 30). After Henry Cabot Lodge was elected to Congress in 1886 and then the Senate in 1892, Lodge and Adams drifted somewhat apart socially, so that, as Hotchfield describes it, "the relations between the two

older men gradually acquired an undercurrent of mutual repulsion" (141). However, despite their own personal drift, Adams became even closer friends with Henry's wife and two sons, George Cabot and John Ellerton. Adams routinely traveled to Europe with the Lodge family where they would explore the relics of medieval culture that had become the intellectual interest of both families. As Samuels argues, Adams had always liked the young man, and had "enjoyed his brilliant talk as a fellow Conservative Christian Anarchist" (Major 498). During his lifetime, Lodge would publish twenty-three individual poems in such magazines as Harvard Monthly, Scribner's, Harper's, Atlantic Monthly, and Century; he also published three volumes of his collected poetry and two verse dramas.² Yet, according to Samuels, for "all his brilliance of mind and passionate desire to be a poet, Lodge was unable to escape the sententious cliches of the Brahmin 'defenders of ideality'" (Major 499). Although Adams may not have considered Lodge to be a major poet, the evidence suggests that, contrary to what Samuels argues, Adams did at least think highly of Lodge's dramatic poetry.

Therefore, to clarify Adams' sentiments concerning Lodge's poetry, the evidence needs to be more fully examined. On 29 August 1895, Adams wrote a letter to Elizabeth Cameron describing the two Lodge sons: "Bay . . . is a very good fellow, with illusions and ambitions and an

exaggerated idea of Parisian standards. John is less sympathetic, and more common-place, and much too old for his years" (Letters VI 313). In a letter to John Hay, dated 7 September 1895, Adams further describes his feelings about Lodge:

I prefer Bay who is a nice fellow, with only one failing, which is the kind of ambition and aspirations which you and I had forty years ago. I have tried to teach him better, but I fear he really is not equal to being a moneylender. He is otherwise my favorite, and I find him sympathetic, intelligent, well-educated and unselfish. Of the three--father and two sons--I like him best.

(Letters VI 320)

Having been born on 10 October 1873, Lodge would have been 22 years old when Adams wrote this letter (he was then 57). In 1895 Lodge had just graduated from Harvard and had published his first poem in Harvard Monthly (Crowley Lodge 13). While George was living with his father in Washington (since 1887), Adams had grown fond of the young man, and as this letter to Hay suggests, Adams thought that Lodge was beginning to show the signs of great promise. In this letter, Adams ironically seems concerned that Lodge's ambitions would lead him to the marketplace, however, instead of a literary life--a situation which was causing Adams a great deal of consternation.

To his most intimate friends, even from the beginning of their mature relationship, Adams had been writing letters about his confidence in the young man's future. However, despite his confidence, Adams did notice that Lodge had possessed one serious fault, "which [was] the kind of ambition and aspirations which [Adams and Hay had] had forty years ago" (Letters VI 320). Although he knew from experience that it would not make his life any easier, Adams was being ironic in his depreciation of Lodge's ambition. He ends The Education describing the damage wrought by Hay's ambition, which eventually led him to physical collapse after continuing to serve as Secretary of State for an unprecedented term of eight years (1181). Both Hay and Adams knew about the difficulties that would come from having inordinate ambition--it equated with self-destruction, undermining the chance of living a long, full life. Adams's prophecy about Lodge's ambition would end up coming true.

By continuing his post-graduation education in Europe, Lodge also follows in Adams's footsteps by taking the Grand Tour. In a letter to Lodge, dated 16 February 1897, the young man is instructed by Adams that the

German literary style is, I think, almost worse than it was in the fifties, especially if one considers that forty years of contact with the world has intervened. Goethe wrote with a feeling

for purity and clearness. Perhaps Goethe has heirs. . . .

What you say of Germany and our dear spring is natural though strange. But everything is strange. Here am I, today fifty-nine years old, and apparently in possession of my senses, yet my brain reels at the incredible chaos that I see around me wherever I look. Talk of anarchy! The whole world, politically, financially, socially, morally, artistically, economically, is one seething chaos which scares me to nervous prostration. (Letters IV 456)

It certainly never was a secret to Lodge what Adams had thought about modern society; even from the beginning of their relationship, Adams had been railing against the modern world's chaotic ways. Obviously, Adams never spared him any of his pessimism. Moreover, in educating him for the world, Adams particularly expressed hopes that Lodge would never catch the "gold-bug" of commercialism. (Letters IV 457). As this same letter demonstrates, Adams clearly foresaw Lodge's future as a man of letters. Thus, Adams writes, "just don't you go and imagine that the gold-bugs are happy, and I am not" (Letters IV 457). As a future ally against the commercialist, not only would Lodge keenly follow Adams's advice and stay away from the gold-bugs, but

he would eventually exert his own literary talent against the commercial world as well.

After Lodge's marriage to Elizabeth Freylinghuysen Davis in 1900, Adams's relationship with the young man started to mature. This maturation also meant that Adams looked at the younger man more critically. In comparing Lodge with Lodge's wife, Adams thought her in some ways the better of the two. In a letter written to Elizabeth Cameron on 10 August 1901, for example, Adams wrote that "Bessie, without being clever, has more sense than Bay. You knew that already. But Bay is growing rapidly more conventional and urbane" (Letters V 274). What Adams actually means by conventional is that Lodge was becoming more socially acceptable. "Conventional" in this sense should be taken as a compliment. Thus, Adams was commenting on Lodge's emerging social conventionality, and not on Lodge's poetry.

This point illustrates not only the extent of Adams's scrutiny of Lodge, but also underscores his social preference for women over men.³ The full meaning of Adams's comment to Elizabeth Cameron is made more clear in The Education:

Adams owed more to the American woman than to all the American men he ever heard of, and felt not the smallest call to defend his sex who seemed able to take care of themselves; but from the point of view of sex he felt much curiosity to

know how far the woman was right, and in pursuing this inquiry, he caught the trick of affirming that the woman was the superior. . . . Is not Bessie worth two of Bay? (1124)

Thus, Bessie is clearly the reason Lodge's relationship had become more equitable with the older Adams--replacing their previous uncle-nephew relationship. Probably written in jest, Adams states in a letter to Lodge, dated 4 November 1903, that "Bessy ought to be made President. I am ready to nominate her, and she would rattle all the men off the course" (Letters VI 519). Moreover, Adams's subsequent correspondence with Lodge's wife continually demonstrated the esteem he felt for her. Bessie had obviously established herself as a dominant force in this group; Adams was also obviously comfortable in a role where the social group was dominated by a woman (as his relationship with Elizabeth Cameron especially indicated).

With the maturation of Lodge, Adams's role had by now evolved into that of literary mentor. Thus, in a letter, dated 22 April 1903, Adams demonstrates great tact in addressing problems with Lodge's work. Known for his brutal honesty, Adams takes uncharacteristic care to avoid hurting the young man's feelings. Not only is this letter important in understanding Adams's and Lodge's relationship; it also clarifies many of Adams's ideas about his literary profession as well. Adams writes that the

mere fact that it [the manuscript to Lodge's novel The Genius of the Commonplace] is far better than anything I could do, and that it has some of that freshness which is worth all the finish that time is sometimes supposed to give, would not prevent my trying to offer suggestions, if I saw any that were likely to be of use. (Letters V 490)

After this rhetorical flourish (a classic example of an *apologia*, since Adams had already published two novels, Esther and Democracy, of unappreciated quality), Adams then maneuvers into his criticism of the novel. Adams's self-deprecation exhibits a sense of refreshing kindness towards Lodge, but at the same time, a recognition that Lodge's writing needed more work.

By deprecating his own work first, Adams deflects his criticisms of Lodge's writing and thus avoids the critical assault that could have been discouraging to the aspiring writer. For example, Adams writes that

[w]hat troubles me most in my own work is where its defects are the faults of its qualities. One cannot exact from one's mind that it shall be its own opposite, and reflect what lies beyond its field of reflection. . . . The fact, which all the psychologists insist on, that the mind really reflects only itself, is to me the most exasperating thing in the world. (Letters V 490)

These remarks suggest an inability on Lodge's part to find his own mistakes (which could have been anything from a lack of clarity or an undeveloped protagonist). By describing his own inability to find his mistakes as well, Adams continues the criticism: "Until I read over my own work, I never see the holes and bare spots in my own mind; and only then I feel how hard it is to scratch about, and put on false hair and rouge and grin" (Letters V 490). Continuing with this cosmetic metaphor, Adams writes:

As writers grow old, they all do it, some well, some ill; and call it art. The young ones don't know enough to do it. They are like girls who can trust to their freshness to cover their faults of feature. A pair of blue eyes carry young verses over a heap of troubles, as well as they carry the summer-girl over a flirtation. (Letters V 490)

So as not to injure the sensitive young man, this interesting metaphor underscores the great (metaphoric) lengths Adams would attempt to soften his words. There could not be any softer metaphor for Adams to use than the flirtations of a young girl (his innocent fondness for all his nieces have been well documented). However, because Lodge was so close to his "uncle," he would have certainly seen through the metaphor and would have known exactly what Adams was trying to say--which was for Lodge to polish his work more.

Interestingly, Adams's criticisms articulate basic, but important points about being a professional writer. He writes that "[a]nyone who means to be an artist has got to study his defects, and the only way of studying one's own defects is to lay one's work aside until it is forgotten and then to go over it again with no other thought than to see whether it is wrong" (Letters V 490). Although Adams must have been insinuating that Lodge's work lacked polish, his advice would apply to any writer trying to write well.

Adams continues his writing lesson by arguing that a man is generally artistic in proportion as he sees what is wrong, and most work is good in proportion not so much to what one leaves in it as to what one strikes out. Hardly anyone who has any faculty of perception can write a volume without saying something worth keeping, but generally he swamps it in a mass of stuff that prevents the reader from noticing it. (Letters V 491)

Later in this letter, Adams also conveys his ideas about writing fiction. Clearly demonstrating his notoriously skeptical nature, Adams writes: "To me, a story-teller must be a trivial sort of animal who amuses me. His first quality should be superficiality" (Letters V 491). Specifically, Adams is warning Lodge against moral didacticism; Adams thought that any work of fiction should first of all be interesting, regardless of its noble

purpose. Since Crowley has written that this novel "tends toward both the melodrama and diatribe" (Lodge 59), Adams's criticisms may have been right on the mark. Adams finishes his letter with a simple suggestion: "Please lock up your volume for a year. Then read it over--carefully--and tell me your conclusions" (Letters V 492).

Since the book was never published in his lifetime, Lodge must have more than taken this suggestion to heart, despite Adams's sensitive handling of his criticisms. Nevertheless, Adams was trying to instill a sense of professionalism in his young friend, as evidenced by Adams's insistence on polish. At the same time, Adams obviously did not want to discourage Lodge from continuing his chosen trade. Evident in a letter written to Lodge only five days later, the young man seemed to have accepted Adams's criticism well enough to continue their friendship. Continuing his typical self-deprecation, Adams writes in this letter:

Thanks for not bucking at my remarks; not that they were worth bucking at, but because we all tend to buck at anything personal.

I've no theory about art. All the art I ever tried to learn was the art of hiding my defects,--
et encore. (Letters V 496)

Thus, Adams's rhetorical strategy--to deflect his criticism of Lodge's work by using his own work as an example--seems

to have been successful. Clearly, Adams was sensitive to the young man's feelings, while at the same time serious about helping the young man become a good artist. However, it is doubtful that Lodge would believe that Adams had no theory of art, since he had been listening to Adams theorizing about it since he was a young boy.

Besides making these carefully considered criticisms, Adams could also heap praise on Lodge's work when he thought it worthy. In a letter to Lodge, dated 1 December 1904, Adams writes that

Cain is good. I refer not so much to its moral orthodoxy, although, as I read it, you have taken the exact attitude of the Conservative Christian [Anarchists] Church in your conception of Cain; but rather its dramatic force. Unlike most dramas and all poems, it interests. Distinctly, one wants to know why Cain killed Abel, and what Eve said about it. (Letters V 615)

In Cain, the tribulations of the alienated artist are dramatized by the bad son of Eve. According to Lodge's version of the biblical story, Abel had been a "traitor" to humanity, who, instead of reaching out for "the destiny of man, had sought contentment at the feet of God" (Poems I 328). Paradoxically, Cain had to murder his brother to correct this "moral" transgression. However, because of his own transgression, Cain is "[o]utlawed from man's love and

God's mercy" (Lodge Poems I 327); therefore, he originates the heroic figure as a "fugitive and vagabond," which has since been found throughout western literature (Lodge Poems I 335). Crowley has argued that "to become fully 'human'--that is divine--the anarchist must purge himself of the tenderest human feelings: for woman and home," and "in the transcendent state, [the hero] may appear inhuman by earthly standards" (Lodge 65).

Moreover, as Crowley also states, not only did Lodge not "restrict transcendence to men . . . but he believed that women were more likely than men to sacrifice the divine possibility for the certainty of human passion," as had also been the case with Grace in The Genius of the Commonplace (Lodge 65). By finally realizing that Cain is both "Savior" and "the Son of Man," Eve ultimately transcends human understanding and motherly instincts (Lodge Poems I 336). She accepts the sacrifice of Abel as the price man has to pay in reaching his potential. She goes on to portend that in Cain's solitude, there shall "be a woman to care for thee thro' the incessant days,/[t]o lie beside thee in the desolate nights" (Lodge Poems I 337).

As his praise for Cain demonstrates, Adams approved of this dramatic poem because it was so philosophically consistent with Conservative Christian Anarchism, but as he indicates later in this letter, Adams was also pleased by the poem's artistry: "I will go so far, for once, as to say

that Cain should put you high among the poets of this century as far as we've gone" (Letters V 616). Although he evidently approved of this poetic drama, except for the praise he gives Lodge for the development of his heroic figure, Adams does not specifically elaborate on the technical qualities that he seemed to like so well.

Adams finishes this letter by explaining the ideological development of the Conservative Christian Anarchists:

You know best what this compliment is worth. Also you know that Conservative Christian Anarchy, since Cain's time, has seemed somewhat to lack popular approval. Although Christ came personally down from God the father to set things straight, he seems to have failed, like most other poets, to make a final settlement. This is not your fault, but there are many poems in it. (Letters V 616)

Even this early in Lodge's career, Adams seems to have been preparing the young man for a lack of popular approval. Adams knew that the reading public of his day would not understand the ideas he and Lodge were formulating together. But as Adams informs Lodge, Christ's work was not popular in his day either (again Adams softens the critical blows for Lodge, this time by putting him in good company).⁴

In a letter to Lodge, dated 10 November 1905, Adams restates his claim that Lodge had no living "rival" in

American poetry, with an audience he numbers at "five hundred" (Letters V 722). Adams was particularly referring to Lodge's three-part sonnet sequence The Great Adventure, the last of which memorialized his friend Trumbull Stickney. About this memorial to Stickney, Adams writes that

I am sure that Joe is pleased at your *in memoriam* as he may well be. I have sought with microscopes and megaphones for another to take his place, but the Latin Quarter [Adams was living in Paris at the time] swarms without use for my fishing. I set the Bancel La Farges for bait, but they bring me only small fry. (Letters V 722)

In the first sonnet in the "Death" sequence, Lodge echoes Cain's main themes, that man's fate is to "seek and strive and suffer," and only through death is the soul "free" from the "dream of life" (Poems II 61). Despite his high praise for Lodge's idea, Adams regrettably does not fully elaborate on any poetic attributes these poems may have demonstrated, so one must take Adams at his word that he sincerely liked them. Thus, Crowley has argued that the "publication of The Great Awakening seemed to signal a hopeful turn in Lodge's literary fortunes" (Lodge 89). Evidently, the sonnet sequence not only received favorable reviews, but sold over four hundred copies--which was twice as many as Cain had sold before (Crowley Lodge 89).⁵

Interestingly, this concentration on audience had become a literary preoccupation of the times in America. Although, as Crowley argues, Lodge had originally begun his literary career hoping to command the "attention and the adulation of a society whose moral basis his poetry was meant to subvert," he increasingly agreed with Adams "that his work could never win popular acceptance" (Lodge 90). And as his letters to Lodge indicate, Adams continually voiced an elitist view of contemporary literary taste. In particular, this view assumed that American society was not intellectually equipped to appreciate the contradictory philosophy of the Conservative Christian Anarchist. Thus, rather than something to be scorned, a limited audience was something to be proud of: it implied that your poetry was philosophically deep, instead of being merely entertaining and commercial. According to Adams's (and Lodge's) aesthetic, poetry had to be primarily philosophical and erudite to be serious. Therefore, because only a small group possessed the necessary education--in which Adams and Lodge were certainly included--an audience for serious poetry would have to be limited.

Crowley offers a variation on this reason why the American audience had a limited ability to appreciate Lodge's poetry:

Lodge, feeling that he had no readers, seemed to believe the converse of th[e] proposition: that,

if a poet has no audience, it is because the purity of his language and the perfection of his thoughts exceed the comprehension of an audience whose mental powers have been stunted by life in a commercial culture. (Lodge 91)

Much to the dismay of these two men, commercialism had become a "moral" way of life that had transcended the mere desire for wealth. The point which especially disturbed Adams and Lodge was that even those who possessed family fortunes and good breeding--their Bostonian friends--had sold out.

In another letter, dated 2 December 1908, Adams again elaborates on the difficulty of Lodge's poems to maintain an appreciative audience. In this letter, Adams writes that the

Hera[k]les [Lodge's second dramatic poem] strikes me as so big a thing that I hesitate to say what I think about it. You must give me time. Your ambition is vast, that you should begin by Aeschylus and Shelley and God knows who else, challenging them all to a contest, as though we were still Athenians of B. C. 500, and you were still Sophocles. We are certainly not Athenians, and if Sophocles or Aeschylus were alive in you, we should never know it. (Letters VI 194)

Adams, who had before argued that the audience for poetry had been indeed very small, is now arguing that sensitivity of even that small an audience has a limit (thus, by now only a handful of people could comprehend Lodge's poetry). Despite the small size of Lodge's audience, Adams still thinks that Lodge's poetry would have a positive effect on society.

However, while Adams reiterates his praise for Lodge's development of his theme, at the same time, he states obvious doubts about the skill of Lodge's poetry. In the same letter, Adams writes:

I cannot doubt that we do not know enough to feel that you have developed most unusual power, and the proof of it is flagrant in the form which even an American can feel,--the dramatic force of your situations, and the climax with which they are built up. Of course, this is essential--the skeleton--of the whole structure, and the point on which all real success turns. I think I cannot be wrong in judging this very highly indeed. Next I am struck with the character-drawing, quite unexpected in such declamatory surroundings. Of course Creon is my personal joy. The expression, or poetry, comes last, after the treatment of the theme, and needs time to read and re-read. I

shall have much to say about it hereafter.

(Letters VI 194)

Clearly, Adams considered that Lodge's literary strength rested mainly on his philosophical ideas, but according to Adams's own thinking, philosophy would have been of paramount concern anyway (Adams would have never separated poetry from classical philosophy as some modern critics and poets have).

Besides the immediate influence of Adams and Conservative Christian Anarchism, several critics have argued that the philosophy behind Cain and Herakles also seems to have been significantly influenced by Lodge's reading of Royce, Schopenhauer, and Hegel. Frederick Conner, in Cosmic Optimism, argues that the philosophy which underlay Lodge's thought is clearly implicit in his poems, but it might have been inferred from some of the major influences on his intellectual life. . . . [H]e was at Harvard when Royce delivered his immensely popular lectures on The Spirit of Modern Philosophy; he was devoted to the Upanishads; and in the winter of 1896-97 he attended lectures on philosophy at the University of Berlin and continued the study of Schopenhauer which he had begun at Harvard. His most important debt to Schopenhauer was his conception of the place of tragedy in life. (307)

Cain's blatant acceptance that "[b]eauty and happiness are casual gifts" and that "forever we sorrow and serve till life/Breaks like a lute-string drawn beyond its strength" is evidence of Schopenhauer's pessimism (Lodge Poems I 333).

However, as evident in Herakles, Lodge's thinking eventually evolved from that of Schopenhauer into Hegel. In Herakles's last long speech to Prometheus in the final scene of the play, Lodge's Hegelian evolution becomes obvious:

Knowledge alone is victory! When all
Is understood, all is subdued, received,
Possessed and perfect. For the soul of man
Is, in the universe of force and change.

(Poems II 453)

Although the "soul of man" is not necessarily a Hegelian concept, the preeminence of knowledge certainly is an important aspect of Hegel's thinking (Conner 312).

Moreover, "force and change" reflect the Hegelian concept of history. As the idea of force would indicate, Lodge's philosophical outlook was naturally influenced by Adams's own thinking about the nature of the universe. Lodge writes that life moves from

Chaos to Cosmos, ignorance to truth,
Force to the freedom of articulate laws--
Giving to phases of the senseless flux
(Lodge Poems II 453)

In a world which seemed to be disintegrating into chaos, both in The Education and Mont-Saint Michel and Chartres, Adams likewise had sought to imagine a theoretical order that could incorporate disorder.⁶

To explain this similarity in their thinking, Crowley argues that

[i]ncreasingly, Adams had regarded Lodge as a fellow worshiper of the dynamo, as an intellectual heir capable of making the quantum leap of consciousness that would be requisite to survival in a multiverse. Adams identified himself vicariously with Lodge's youthful energy and tenacious commitment to transcending chaos in an act of mind. He surely recognized his own thoughts in this speech [the lines above] from Lodge's verse-drama. (Introduction ix)

Influenced by what Adams had been writing in his later nonfiction works, Lodge in his dramatic verse was following in the same philosophical vein. Therefore, although both men were deeply concerned about discerning order in an chaotic universe, Lodge's concern was more with an artistic, transcendental order, rather than with Adams's seemingly historical, rational one--although Adams essentially recognized that chaos was a kind of order. Evidence of Lodge's transcendentalism is found in the end of Herakles's last speech:

Supernal, central pinnacle of being,
Shall we not look abroad and look within,
Over the total Universe, the vast,
Complex and vital sum of force and form,
And say, in one, sufficient utterance,
The single, whole, transcendent Truth--"I am!"

(Lodge Poems II 454-455)

About this passage, Conner argues that the "first thing to observe . . . is that it gives a preeminent position to knowledge"; moreover, "that this knowledge is not of any one thing, but of all things," and most importantly, "that only through this knowledge can the fullest self-realization be achieved" (312). In this instance, knowledge must mean the ability to intuit one's own personality and place in relation with the outside world (it certainly does not mean the comprehension of fact and formulas, such as knowing European history or calculus). According to Lodge, self-realization--the utterance of "I am"--is the reductive answer to the mysteries of the universe, and hence, is the only true knowledge. Whereas Adams initially sought to impose an order on the world through the endless possibilities of the imagination, he eventually accepted the realization that even the imagination is ultimately powerless to do so. On the other hand, Lodge tried to impose order by reducing the universe to a "single, whole" truth. Therefore, one major difference between these two

men was that Adams, despite his denial otherwise, wanted to know the facts about the world, as well as to understand it philosophically. Lodge, however, thought that to know thyself--to understand the ego--was all one would ever need. Especially "when seen against the background of the genteel tradition," Conner argues, this "outspoken egoism" is the most "startling" aspect of Lodge's poetry (306).

Support for Lodge's poetic egoism, of course, came from Walt Whitman. In "Genteel American Poetry," Santayana explains that Whitman "wished to be wholly impressionistic, wholly personal, wholly American, and the result was perhaps that he was simply mystical, missing the articulation of the great world, as well as the constructive mind of his own age and country" (75). Especially in Whitman's concentration on self-knowledge as opposed to worldly knowledge, this very criticism could also apply to Lodge. Thus, Conner argues that

[t]ranscendentalism . . . is "radical subjectivism," resting on the belief that the "I" is the only immediately experienced reality and that the objects of knowledge are known as the contents of consciousness. . . . [T]herefore the external world must be somehow dependent on the "I." (307)

Furthermore, Conner says that Lodge was able to make this belief in the transcendent power of the ego "plainer than

the others," but making it plainer, did not necessarily mean making the poetry artistically satisfying to a large audience. Santayana's ultimate response to this ego-driven poetic was to comment that the "average human genteel person, with a heart, a morality, and a religion, who is after all in the majority, is left for the moment without any poetry to give him pleasure or to do him honor" (76). Because Lodge seemed to violate the poetic aims of both modern poetry and the genteel tradition, according to Santayana's criticism, it makes perfect sense that Lodge was unable to find a large audience.⁷

On 8 March 1909, writing in a letter to Lodge, Adams continues with his invaluable discussion about the profession of writing. Having recently sent Lodge a manuscript of "The Rule of Phase Applied to History," Adams writes:

Thanks for your praise! It rather surprises me, for I don't much care for scientific writing, which is always mere carpentry. What excites our imagination is narrative--drama. There the difficulties become infinite, and the question of putting a light or a shadow, a discord or a harmony, in its right place, is all the more fascinating because we know that no reader will ever reach the point of knowing enough art to see

why you do it, and why your failure is worth far more than success. (Letters VI 234)

By this late time in his life, Lodge had all the recognition he would ever receive. The two high points in his career came to be in 1906, when he was asked to deliver the Phi Beta Kappa poem at Harvard, and in 1908, when he was elected to the National Institute of Arts and Letters. In their letters, both Adams and Lodge seem to have celebrated his failure to reach a large audience, because it meant that he had not sold out to commercial interests.

In this same letter, Adams continues with his composition lesson, writing that

scientific writing does teach something. I seem to fancy that it teaches line, and follows the laws of architecture and sculpture; while narratives teach color, and follow the laws of music and painting. That is to say that the complexities of art are infinitely greater in color composition.

This must be the reason why we care so little what is thought of our artistic work. We are quite drowned in the ocean of doubt what we think of it ourselves. . . .

Do what you please with the MS. I don't believe I shall ever want it but if I do, I'll borrow it. (Letters VI 234)

Besides the interesting ideas about scientific writing and how it connects with the fine arts, a significant aspect of this letter is Adams' request that Lodge read his manuscript. Lodge felt confident enough, moreover, to respond as well. Therefore, if this letter is evidence enough, Adams's and Lodge's eventually had a reciprocally professional relationship.

Finally, in Adams's last published letter to Lodge before the young man's death, he now writes about the personal matters of his friends, instead of literary concerns. The tone of the letter is completely personal--Adams is no longer the mentor--instead he has gone back to being the uncle. Notice that the uncle is a much older man. In this letter, dated 26 July 1909, Adams writes that

I ought to be in Switzerland where I had promised to visit Mabel La Farge and Martha Cameron, but Paris grips me. Besides Sturgis and John [Ellerton Lodge], Helen Hay is at the Brighton waiting for Payne to come back from Carlisbad. Mrs Wharton is at the new Hotel Crillon, sitting on an apartment she is trying to get, on the Rue de Varennes. Ward Toron arrived yesterday, zealous to go automobiling for glass windows. In my advanced decrepitude I seem to be the only available young man [Adams was then 71 years old] for all these youth, and I am so far gone that I

daren't walk out alone for fear of losing my mind
on the Place de l'Opera.

Upon my solemn word of honor and faith in our
Lady of Chartres, I do not see how I can
conceivably underrate human intelligence.

(Letters VI 262-263)

Indeed, what professional value Lodge may have gotten from his friendship with Adams, the undeniable fact is that Lodge received personal affection as well. Despite his pessimism, Adams cared about his circle of friends, and because of their similar professional interests, he obviously had cared more for Lodge than the rest. For all Adams's hopes for Lodge as a literary ally, in the end, he seemed to be more glad to have had him as a friend. Therefore, because private feelings could possibly interfere with professional concerns, it would almost have been inconceivable for Adams to have initiated the biography himself, so soon after Lodge's death. Hence, the most controversial scholarly aspect of this biography has been how Adams eventually ended up writing it.

Therefore, by analyzing the correspondence between Adams and his surviving friends, the remaining portion of this chapter will finally resolve this controversy.

According to Ernest Samuels, in Henry Adams: The Major Phase, Adams had not even considered writing a biography of Lodge until he was, more or less, pressured to do so by the

Lodge family (497). Since they were planning to bring out a collected edition of Lodge's work, the "young widow turned to 'Uncle Henry' for an introductory volume on the beloved" poet (Samuels Major 497). The Lodges had been closely associated with Adams for a long time, and so he initially may have felt restricted from being as candid as his high literary standards would have ordinarily demanded. This does not mean, however, that after deciding to work on the project Adams would not have done his professional best--to do otherwise would dishonor his friend and their profession. The fact that the craft of writing had clearly dominated their correspondence is proof enough how both men had felt about their calling. Although Adams's correspondence with Lodge does strongly suggest that the two men were very close friends, critics have wrongly insinuated that Adams may have been less than candid about his feelings for Lodge. Unquestionably, Adams had attempted to be tactful in his criticism of Lodge's work; he had never been deceitful, however.

The first question to answer about this controversy is just how close Adams had been to Lodge. The evidence shows that Adams's immediate response to the death of Lodge was immense sadness. On 29 August 1909, in a letter to Lodge's mother, Anna Cabot Mills Lodge, Adams writes that

Bay was my last tie to active sympathy with men.

He was the best and finest product of my time and

hopes. He has done enough work to place him high among the men whose names have a chance of lasting more than our day, and we can even hope that his genius may throw some rays of light on us who surrounded him. You have lived, and will continue to live, in him. Probably you do not much care for that kind of life, but it would have pleased him to feel it. (Letters VI 266)

If one takes these remarks seriously, then Adams certainly felt an affinity for Lodge which may have transcended ordinary friendship. Lodge may have been an emotional link for Adams not only to the outside world but to his concept of the future as well. While Lodge was alive, Adams's growing pessimism may even have been somewhat mitigated by his friendship with this younger man, who Adams at least felt had a brighter future ahead. Interestingly, Adams tries to comfort Lodge's mother with the idea that her son would always be close to her in spirit: a notion clearly taken from Lodge's own philosophy, as he believed that the spirit of man would live forever.

An exchange of letters between Henry James and Adams soon after the death of Lodge even better explains Adams's close relationship with Lodge. On 31 August 1909, James wrote to Adams in a letter that he recalled Lodge as "so intelligent & open & delightful--a great social luxury; & the sense of how charming & friendly to me he was in

Washington, five years ago abides with me & touches me still" (Monteiro 75). Adams responded to this letter by writing that James's

letters . . . have always the charm of saying something that carries one over the gaps; and when you describe Bay Lodge as a great and abundant social luxury, you paint a portrait rather more lifelike than anything Sargent ever did. . . .

As for what the newspapers report as the realities of life, I grow everyday too detached to feel them. . . . Bay Lodge's experience last winter completed and finished my own. When his *Heracles* appeared last winter unnoticed by the literary press, I regarded my thesis as demonstrated. Society no longer shows the intellectual life necessary to enable it to react against a stimulus. My brother Brooks insists on the figure of paralysis. I prefer the figure of diffusion, like that of a river falling into a ocean. Either way it drowned Bay, and has left me still floating, with vast curiosity to see what vaster absence of curiosity can bring about in my Sargasso sea. (Letters VI 269)

Obviously, Adams had appreciated James's letter of condolence: which confirms that other members of Adams's circle understood how close his relationship with Lodge had

been. Moreover, Adams echoes his claim that Lodge had been his link with the outside world. Therefore, as these two letters have shown, the critics have misinterpreted Adams's feelings about Lodge.

The second question is whether Adams truly believed Lodge's work had value? As this letter to James reiterates, Adams unequivocally blamed Lodge's lack of critical success on the ignorance of the press (as representative of the reading public), rather than any lack of merit on Lodge's part. Moreover, Crowley argues that the "life of the poet became a vehicle for Adams's real theme, anticipated in his letter to James: the impossibility of the artist's survival either inside or outside Boston culture" (Introduction xi). If Adams had had any serious reservations about Lodge's most recent work, he would have certainly conveyed them to James.

About James's own relationship with Lodge, Adams records in the Life Lodge's response when first introduced to the Master:

There were besides some unremarkable people who all left, leaving me the chance to talk with James, which I did with the greatest delight then and also the next morning when, at his invitation, I went with him to the Capitol and the Library for two most interesting hours. This, I believe, can be said of James, though it is not the most obvious remark to make of him, and is, at the same

time, the rarest and most important compliment that can be paid to any creative artist--namely, that he is, in matters of art, incorruptibly honest, and in consequence hugely expensive.

(136-137)

Any admirer of James who had this attitude would have surely struck a chord with him. Although James was an acquaintance of Lodge, he was not at all on good terms with Lodge's surviving family, especially with Henry Cabot, and James probably would have had no opinion about Lodge's work at all. Because it also could have also applied to him, James would have easily noticed (and agreed with) Adams's argument that contemporary society was just too dull to appreciate serious art fully, although James probably would not have included Lodge's work in the same category as his own.

Interestingly, James's own lack of a large audience had previously caught the notice of Lodge and even formed the basis of their acquaintance. In the Life, Adams again refers to the same letter from Lodge to his mother. Lodge thus argues that

whether you like James or not, whether you think he is all on the wrong track or not, you are bound to respect him, for if you do not, whom, in this age of universal machine-made cheapness, whom more than James with his immense talent and industry

and small sales, are you going to respect? (Life
137-138)

By putting this letter in the Life, Adams can demonstrate that Lodge's lack of an audience again put him in good company--this time, however, it was James rather than Jesus. Adams thus uses this letter to illustrate the pervasive dearth of a literate audience.

Several critics have argued incorrectly that Adams had felt so much pressure from the Lodge family that he had to significantly shape his book to satisfy them. Adams's correspondence shows that it was not family pressure at all which shaped this biography, but his beliefs in the lack of an intelligent audience. Adams repeats his disdain for modern culture in a letter to Elizabeth Cameron, dated 24 January 1910. In this letter, Adams clearly states what had always been a concern of his--that an unintelligent audience would not get his intended message. In order to get his message across, Adams had to alter his writing from what he would really like to say. Adams writes: "I have to take so much trouble to keep it [probably "A Letter to Teachers of American History"] from being bitter that it has all its nails cut off and can't scratch. Luckily nothing matters, and no one cares. America is a vast mud-flat" (Letters VI 301). With a lament for the lack of appreciation for Lodge's work and an explanation about how he got involved with Lodge's biography, Adams continues this commentary:

Poor Bay's poems are to be republished in a collected form. Bessy wants me to do a volume of Life. I assent readily, knowing that Cabot will do it, and will not let anyone else do it, however hard he may try to leave it alone. Edith Wharton's notice is very nicely done, with fine appreciation and feeling; but all the notices from today to doomsday will never make an American public care for poetry,--or anything else unless perhaps chewing-gum. (Letters VI 301)

"Assent" is the operative word in this passage; thus, although Adams only assented to do the task after careful consideration, he ultimately did accept it "readily." Moreover, by mentioning the qualities of Wharton's literary obituary, Adams was definitely thinking of writing the biography to educate the public on Lodge's poetry, but he was certainly pessimistic about his opportunities. Once again, Adams was disparaging not of Lodge's poetry, but of his audience.

By claiming that Adams was more reluctant to do the job than he actually had been, several critics have completely misread this letter. For example, Samuels writes that "Adams gave in [to writing the biography] with what grace he could," thus, more than implying that he only consented to the project because of the family's pressure (Adams 423). (Earlier in the paragraph Samuels had been arguing that at

the time Adams may have been looking for just such a project to work on). Also, as to when Adams made the decision to do this project, Samuels has the chronology incorrect somewhat; he argues that it was in early spring, whereas Adams would have already decided to take on the project by at least 24 January 1910--the date of the letter to Elizabeth Cameron.

Crowley also incorrectly argues that "Adams accepted the commission reluctantly" (Introduction v). For reasons similar to Samuels, Crowley states that Adams's reluctance was also due to his concern about family interference. As proof of this reluctance, Crowley cites the letter written to Elizabeth Cameron on 24 January 1910, in which Adams states that "I assent readily, knowing that Cabot [George's father] will do it, and will not let anyone else do it, however hard he may try to leave it alone" (Letters VI 301). However, Crowley also ignores that Adams says he assented "readily" to the project; therefore, he misreads the rest of the statement. Adams himself realizes that no one else would be strong-willed enough to keep Cabot from interfering. Adams also wants to save the father from having to undertake the task as well.

For further support of his argument, Crowley also argues that "Henry Cabot Lodge intended the collected works and the companion biography precisely for the Boston audience Bay had rejected" (Introduction vii). This argument, however, falsely implies that Lodge's father

either had not read his son's poems beforehand or that he did not understand them. Both propositions seem equally absurd. Therefore, any frustrations Adams may have felt about writing the biography had nothing to do with interference from Lodge's family, but with the same Boston society with which he had always quarreled. Although this point may seem insignificant, because Crowley (incorrectly) bases almost his entire interpretation of the biography on Adams's anxiety, the distinction is important. Crowley perpetuates this misinterpretation when he asserts that because Adams was so displeased with the biography, he tried to disassociate himself completely from it. Crowley bases this assertion on the fact that Adams wanted the book published anonymously, but many of Adams's previous books had also been published without attribution.⁸

In Henry Adams, R. P. Blackmur offers a more reasonable explanation of Adams's relationship with Lodge and the decision to write the biography:

it [was] a tribute of friendship, written at the request of the poet's parents; a task for which no one was better fitted than Adams, since he and young Lodge had stood in the relation of uncle and nephew to each other and since the shaping of Lodge's imagination had been part of Adams's conscious work. (230)

As this chapter has shown, no one could dispute the fact that Adams had a considerable influence on the professional and personal development of Lodge's life. Although Adams did think Lodge needed to improve his poetry, Adams never rejected it outright. The evidence shows that Adams was never embarrassed by Lodge's work; instead he was embarrassed by society's lack of interest in it. Moreover, the facts also show that their relation grew as both men matured. Because Adams does not include any of his correspondence with Lodge in the biography, their close relationship has almost been forgotten. Therefore, any significant critical study of the Life must begin with the Adams-Lodge correspondence.

Notes

¹In No Place of Grace, T. J. Jackson Lears argues that [t]he deepest source of Adams's anxiety was his childlessness. On Henry's wedding day, his father noted the event in his diary, adding "I trust the issue will be propitious." The propagation of children was a proud duty among most upper-class Victorian families; to the Adamses it seemed particularly important. Imbued from childhood with a sense of family continuity, Henry accepted his childlessness with bitter disappointment. . . .

One can only imagine the secret pain involved in that effort. Since the opening of the Adams Family Papers, historians have discovered a few revealing details: That the couple became attached to their Skye terriers, that Henry's father grew increasingly hostile toward Marian, that Henry owned Clinical Notes on Uterine Surgery with Special Reference to the Management of Sterile Conditions. An old friend recalled that Marian had "all she wanted, all this world could give, except children--and not having any was a greater grief to Mr. Adams than to her." (267)

²Recently, Crowley has edited George Cabot Lodge: Selected Fiction and Verses and Lodge's novel The Genius of the Commonplace.

³In No Place of Grace, Jackson thus explains Adams's "preference" for female society as having "complex origins" (267). Jackson writes that

Among women he found "taste and dexterity" corresponding to his own. More important, women provided maternal comfort which nurtured his dependent impulses. The domestic ideal enshrined childhood as well as femininity; Adams's flight from male ego ideals pointed in both those directions. Woman was the model for his behavior but also the mother who nourished his childlike

needs. And the most powerful maternal figure was Marian Adams. . . .

The problem was that Marian seemed to draw all her strength from her father, none from her husband. Her death shattered Adams's precarious sense of selfhood and intensified his yearning for "feminine" alternatives. He felt cut adrift at midlife. (267-268)

⁴Although the reference to Christ here may seem contradictory for a philosophy that rejects God, both Lodge and Adams would emphasize Christ's earthly identity and ignore his Heavenly one. Actually, so that he could fulfill his ministry, they would argue that Christ first had to be forsaken by God. Their point is that, just as Christ had done by leaving his Heavenly home, man must deny himself the comforts of religion and face honestly the chaos of reality.

⁵If Adams's figures were close to the truth, than Lodge had reached 80% of the poetry-reading public of his day, which certainly would have been quite a success. However, what had been truly disturbing to Adams was the limited number of poetry readers in the first place.

⁶Adams's ideas about force will be discussed in the second chapter.

⁷The reason behind these two cross-currents in Lodge's poetry will be discussed more fully in chapter 2. One way

to analyze Lodge's poetry is first to understand his formal education.

⁶The final outcome of Crowley's argument is that he will completely agree with Wilson's interpretation of Adams's Life. This problem will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3.

2. Bostonian Brahmin as the Alienated Artist

Through a contextual reading of the biography with The Education and Adams's other later works, the second chapter demonstrates how Adams shapes the material of Lodge's life into a statement about the condition of modern culture, which had become a primary concern of Adams in the last phase of his career. As such, Crowley argues that "the similarities of style, structure, and tone of the Life of Lodge to The Education of Henry Adams are too numerous to be coincidental" (Introduction x). Similarly, Hotchfield in his essay writes that the "experience recorded in the Life of George Cabot Lodge parallels in many ways that of The Education. It is this fact which establishes in the reader's mind a consciousness of the unexpressed identity between the writer's mind and his subject" (141). Therefore, although Adams omitted his correspondence with Lodge from the biography, as these two critics have argued, a strong connection between Adams and Lodge nonetheless existed in the text. Whereas the previous chapter examined the actual relationship between Adams and Lodge, this chapter in a sense analyzes their textual relationship--the Henry Adams and George Cabot Lodge that are as much a creation of Adams's imagination as anything.

Besides the similarities between the two "protagonists," the most important similarity between The Education and the Life is in their artistic achievement. Much as Adams's autobiography had done, the biography of Lodge reaches the level of art in the way it turns the raw materials of a man's life into a profound statement about the emerging modern condition. In essence, the book's spare, stripped-down form is almost a shorthand version of Adams's previous work. This form underscores Adams's intent to allow Lodge's own words to tell the story of his life. Besides the few sentences that he writes to tie Lodge's letters together, Adams's primary contribution to the biography is the selection of Lodge's letters to his family and friends during key phases in his life. As the chapter headings indicate, the book is thus organized around these phases: "Childhood"; "Cambridge"; the publication of "The Song of the Wave"; "Love and War"; "Marriage"; the publication of "Cain," "The Great Adventure," and "Herakles"; and finally, "The End."

The Henry Adams in The Education would obviously have had a great deal in common with Lodge, in that both figures seem to represent similar literary sensibilities and ambitions, and that both men considered themselves alienated from the same emotionally dysfunctional Bostonian society. For example, in the first chapter of the Life, Adams writes that Lodge was from "a society which bred refined tastes,

and often did refined work, but seldom betrayed strong emotions" (6). The only major difference between the two figures seems to have been that Lodge was almost two generations younger than Adams, perhaps signifying that not only did alienation continue into subsequent generations, but as several critics have argued, it grew strong enough to break the hearts of sensitive men. Lyon argues that for Adams, Lodge's death seemed to symbolize the dire condition of Bostonian culture as a home for the creation of poetry (160). Moreover, Crowley entitled his article on the biography "The Suicide of the Artist," not only linking the writer's death with his art, but making the death symbolic of self-annihilation as well. (In no way did Lodge literally kill himself; rather he died of heart failure after a bout with food poisoning.) Other critics have argued that because Adams did not consider Lodge's poetry all that noteworthy, Lodge's death ironically was merely a personal loss for him, rather than a professional one. According to this argument, the loss of this poetic voice was therefore inconsequential to the artistic world.

However, as was demonstrated in the previous chapter, throughout his life, Adams was an honest but supportive critic of Lodge's poetry. Adams adamantly considered that any failure of Lodge's poetry to reach a large audience was due to society's pervasive ignorance. Hotchfield argues that "the central meaning of Lodge's life, as Adams sees it,

is that he was the victim of American society" (142). Therefore, Lodge's heartbreaking failure to sustain himself as a poet exemplified the intellectual vacuum in modern Boston.

In The Problem of Boston, Martin Green clearly explains the disintegration of Boston as a home for literary creativity. Green writes that as "we follow Boston's literary record chronologically through the [nineteenth] century, we more and more clearly discern that writers's talents were being not fostered but suppressed, deformed" (164). Thus, Green's analysis clearly squares with Adams's own pessimistic appreciation of the culture that had formed him. Green goes on to describe pointedly this condition: "America in the nineteenth century was a uniquely unfavorable climate for writers. Nobody paid them, nobody read them, nobody respected them, nobody wanted them" (60). Therefore, as one of these unappreciated writers, Lodge's death would have definitively represented the worst of these conditions; thus, Adams had a strong case for his argument.

However, before Adams could symbolically use the death of Lodge to represent the dire condition of modern Boston society, he has to establish him as fully representative of the Brahmin tradition, both in literary and social terms. Hence, Boston was a society which turned its back on one of its own. By making Lodge a representative man, as he had done with himself in The Education, Adams again proves

primarily concerned about describing the tradition and the conditions that it bears on the individual. About his own birth, for example, Adams writes:

in the third house below Mount Vernon Place,
February 16, 1838, a child was born, and
christened later by his uncle, the minister of the
First Church after the tenets of Boston
Unitarianism, as Henry Brooks Adams. (The
Education 3)

As he had done for his own, Adams also ignores much of the actual specifics of Lodge's birth. Thus, Adams merely writes: "Her [Anna Cabot Mills Davis's] second child, George Cabot Lodge, the subject of this story, was born in Boston, October 10, 1873" (Life 6). Granted there is not much one should include about the specifics of giving birth, but the occasion of the birth is usually a central point in an autobiography or biography.

For example, Adams begins the Life by writing that poets "are proverbially born not made; and because they have been born rarely, the conditions of their birth are singularly interesting" (1). Adams's use of "conditions" refers to the historical and cultural significance of being born a Lodge in late nineteenth-century New England. It is the milieu that is important to describe, not necessarily the poet. Blackmur argues that Adams began this book "by letting Boston stand for the universe, because for a Lodge

or an Adams nothing else claimed the right, but better because the claim served as a point of departure from which the counter claim for poetry--for imagination--could be asserted" (230).

Because he has been reduced to a figurative type, even from the beginning of the biography, Lodge is never fully presented as an individual. However, as will be argued in the last chapter, being reduced to a figure is the only way Adams can truly present the inner (spiritual) man, which was Adams's primary concern here. This ironic "depersonalization" of a personal history is similar to Adams's previous transformation of autobiography into a third-person narrative: in The Education, Adams transformed the "I" into "Henry Adams." Adams writes in his preface to The Education that the

object of study is the garment, not the figure The tailor's object . . . is to fit young men, in Universities or elsewhere, to be men of the world, equipped for any emergency; and the garment offered to them is meant to show the faults of the patchwork fitted on their fathers.

(722)

Adams intended to suppress the ego (the figure) so that the personality would not intrude into the lesson (the garment). The older man's life (education) thus "fits" into a moral lesson for the younger man's instruction; Adams plays with

the various meanings of the word "fit" to underscore his point. This sublimation of the personality is more than mere conventional modesty (although a part of it is), but rather comes from a viewpoint that the individual himself "is [only] a certain form of energy" (Adams Education 722). Lodge (who was literally one of Adams's fit young men) also represents a form of energy. Likewise, Lodge's personality must be suppressed in order to convey the lesson the teacher intends about one of his pupils.

Lodge's birth, then, can be understood only in the social, familial, and chronological context in which it occurs. First of all, his birth can be considered unique only because

the society of Boston ha[d] always believed itself
to have had, from the start, a certain
complexity,--certain rather refined nuances,--
which gave it an avowed right to stand apart
. . . . (Adams Life 1)

Moreover, not only was Boston a special place (at least in its own eyes), but Adams makes clear that Lodge's family (especially the Cabots) was also distinctive:

To Bostonians, in general, the Cabots altogether
are a stock too strong, too rich, too varied in
their family characteristics, to need explanation.
Volumes might be written on them, without
exhausting the varieties of the strain. (Life 3)

Ironically, Adams is not only paying homage to a close friend with this book, but is also paying homage to the family as well. Crowley argues that "Adams's ironic treatment of Lodge's ancestry" is almost a "parody of Biblical 'begats[,]' [as] the first pages of The Life recounts the family history in meticulous detail" (Introduction vi). Crowley continues his argument by stating that "[j]ust as Adams's birth in The Education is overshadowed by the Massachusetts statehouse, Lodge's is overshadowed by the proliferated branches of the family tree (Introduction vi).

Clearly, if the human personality is only the sum of the forces that make him, then Adams is reiterating his point that one's family is certainly a large part of those forces. To underscore this point, Adams writes

that such a family should produce a poet was not matter for surprise; but as though to make such a product quite natural and normal, Henry Cabot Lodge [George's father], who was born May 12, 1850, married, on June 29, 1871, into another Massachusetts family with history and characteristics as marked as those of the Cabots themselves. (Life 4)

As a "product" of these two notable families, Lodge should have possessed all the noble qualities of a fine poet, but Adams undercuts the ability of this family and society to

nurture the creation of poetry. Adams states that this was "a society which bred refined tastes, and often did refined work, but seldom betrayed strong emotions" (Life 6). Adams seizes upon the underlining incongruity of the Bostonian society as an inhospitable home for literary development. In agreement with Adams, Blackmur writes that "Boston could not inspire a taste for poetry" (230).

According to Adams, the unfitness of Boston as a home for poetic development is not that this society was openly hostile to poetry, but that

the twenty-five years between 1873 and 1898--years of astonishing scientific and mechanical activity--were marked by a steady decline of literary and artistic intensity, and especially of the feeling for poetry, which at best, had never been the favorite form of Boston expression. (Life 6)

Adams goes on to say that in Boston poetry was a "suppressed instinct" (Life 9), and that the "gap between the poet and citizen was so wide as to be impassable" (Life 16).

Moreover, although "the poet became everywhere a rebel against his surroundings," the young poet ironically also "grew up without being able to find an enemy" (Adams Life 17). Lodge becomes one of the original rebels without a cause. Crowley notes that in "these circumstances it was not surprising that Lodge, like Adams, should have developed

an early antipathy to Boston" (Lodge 124). On the theme of the rebel poet, Blackmur writes that

as revolting instinct[, poetry] had made the poet a rebel everywhere in English, but had put, Adams thought, a special character on poets who rebelled in Boston. As in his own case he had drawn the opposition between Quincy and Boston, summer and winter, life and death, so to explain Lodge he drew the opposition between Nahant . . . and Boston, where Nahant, as the sea, meant everything to Lodge that Quincy had meant to Adams. (231)

Nahant is the place where Lodge learned to create poetry, just as Quincy is where Adams learned about art. Similarly, Boston is the place where both men became frustrated with the reception of their work. Despite any claims as a cultural center, Boston had become more concerned with art appreciation than with its creation, and as Adams points out, the art Boston appreciated had become too commercially oriented for both Adams's and Lodge's taste.

Lodge's matriculation at Harvard also adds another level of irony to Adams's idea that the Brahmin class was antithetical to poetry:

To all young Bostonians of a certain age and social position, Harvard College opens its doors so genially as to impose itself almost as a necessary path into the simple problems of Boston

life; and it has the rather unusual additional merit of offering as much help as the student is willing to accept towards dealing with the more complex problems of life in a wider sense.

(Life 19)

This view of Harvard echoes the description of the school in The Education: this college, "as far as it educated at all, was a mild and liberal school, which sent young men into the world with all they needed to make respectable citizens" (769). Adams further states that the school "created a type but not a will" (The Education 770). The best he can ever say about the school is that "it left the mind open, free from bias, ignorant of facts, but docile" (The Education 770), and Adams's depiction of Lodge's education there does not differ from this view. Despite these overtly negative opinions, Samuels interprets Adams's depreciation of the Harvard experience as another example of his irony: "The college education which The Education would have scornfully crammed into four months embraced in fact a Baconian breadth of interest" (Young 31).

Whatever Adams's true feelings about the school were, Harvard did introduce Lodge to a cosmopolitan literature, including that of Balzac, Flaubert, Alfred de Vigny, Leconte de Lisle, Musset, Hugo, Renan, Schopenhauer, and the Upanishads. Adams also notes that because of this heavily French influence, Lodge went through the "usual stage of

restlessness and depression" (Life 22). Consequently, Lodge's temperament "took the form of philosophic depression accompanied by intense ambition," a combination that was familiar in Europeans, although "not so common among Americans" (Adams Life 23). Lodge's passion for reading turned into a passion for writing, and he began his poetic career by writing Petrarchan sonnets, a form not very popular with late Victorian poets.¹ Using this Italian form instead of the current English one represented Lodge's first break from literary convention, a break that signified for Adams a precocious commitment to poetry (Life 28).

As had been customary for a young Brahmin, Lodge's education continued in Europe after he graduated from Harvard; Adams himself had done the grand European tour. He states that Lodge "found himself reduced to the usual helplessness of the art student in Paris, working without definite purpose in several unrelated directions" (Life 31). Lodge also had to work through the dilemma of having to discover his life's work in order to make a living. Adams uses one of Lodge's letters to his parents to illustrate this dilemma for a young male Brahmin:

"I said to myself that I knew I could not be very quick at moneymaking; but that at any rate in the eyes of men I should lead a self-respecting life and my hideous utter failure would only be for myself and you, who understand." (Life 34)

This ambivalence towards making a practical living echoes many of Adams's own concerns when he was a young man. As Samuels notes, "[m]uch to Adams's delight [Lodge] turned his back on a career of being a 'money lender' as he scornfully called the opportunities of Boston" (Major 498). Rather than as a process leading to making a living, an education in Europe only serves as a means to delay growing up until one discovers an interesting avocation. This delay also may have other unintended benefits.

In Lodge's case, the unintended benefits of a French "education consist[ed] chiefly in whatever many-colored impression he may have accidentally or unconsciously absorbed" (Adams Life 45). Interestingly, Adams says something very similar about his own experience:

Accidental education went far in Paris, and one picked up a deal of knowledge that might become useful; perhaps, after all, the three months passed there might serve better purpose than the twenty-one months elsewhere; but he did not intend it--did not think it--and looked at it as a momentary and frivolous vacation before going home to fit himself for life. Therewith, after staying as long as he could and spending all the money he dared, he started with mixed emotions but no education, for home. (Education 97)

He continually challenges the reader to determine his level of irony when he discusses Lodge's and his own education. Adams considers Lodge's "accidental education" to be derived from his friendship with Joseph Trumbull Stickney, a young man "almost identical in tastes and convictions" to Lodge (Life 45). Adams says Stickney "owned a nature of singular refinement, and his literary work promised to take rank at the head of the work done by his generation of Americans" (Life 119).

In The Poems of Trumbull Stickney, Ambery R. Whittle states that according to "the testimony of gifted and esteemed men, Joseph Trumbull Stickney was one of the best-educated, most highly cultivated and talented Americans of his period" (xxi). However, because Stickney was born into the same Bostonian society as Lodge, his poetical career likewise suffered from its detrimental influence. In The Genteel Tradition, George Santayana best describes the young poet's fate:

Stickney . . . could never, I am sure, have prospered in the American air. Although he was a Harvard man, he had been well taught privately first, and afterwards for many years studied in Paris. When he returned to Harvard to teach Greek, he was heroically determined to take the thing seriously, and to share enthusiastically the

life of his country, but the instrument was far too delicate and sensitive for the work. (146) Stickney died in October, 1904, of a brain tumor, five years before Lodge's own early death.

In the Life, Adams records as a significant event Lodge's attempt to determine a meaning in Stickney's death:

"Don't get carried away with the idea that Joe's death as set the term to youth or is really the end of anything. Life--our life, his life, the life of the human soul--is quite continuous, I'm convinced: one thing with another, big and little, sad and gay, real and false, and the whole business just life, which is its own punishment and reward, its own beginning and end. . . ."

(Life 121)

Thus, Stickney's death, as "the most serious loss to Lodge's life" and ironically foreshadowing Lodge's own premature death, forced Lodge to confront the inevitable tragedy of "life" (Adams Life 119) And Lodge puts this tragedy into a transcendental perspective. Although Eastern philosophy had been an influence in Bostonian transcendentalism since Emerson, Lodge was greatly influenced by Sturgis Bigelow, who had returned from a residence in Japan and "brought with him an atmosphere of Buddhistic training and esoteric culture quite new to the realities of Boston and Cambridge" (Adams Life 47). Lodge's statement about the "continuous"

life of the soul reflects Bigelow's teachings. Lodge was a regular guest at Bigelow's home, Tuckanuk, and according to Adams, as "time went on, more and more of the young man's letters were addressed to Bigelow" (Adams Life 48). Moreover, Adams seems to be making a subtle point that Lodge was more influenced by contemporaries like Stickney and Bigelow, than his ever being an influence on them.

As Adams continually points out in the biography, Lodge's education as a poet seems to have been more of an aimless drift than a purposeful journey. Interestingly, Lodge's first attempt at composition took the form of copy-book commonplaces. In a letter, dated 5 April 1896, Lodge wrote that

I have been realizing a . . . metaphysical profundity, . . . that the present is all that is and it is not. One of the crowning metaphysical paradoxes. Of course the present is not. While you are uttering "now," it is fled--it never existed. It is like a geometrical point, non-existent. And the past--that's the cruel thing, the killing memories. (Life 42)

As abstractly profound as this thought may seem, the thinking behind this entry is not as significant as the very fact that Lodge had been going through the process itself--the writing of copy-book commonplaces. The copy-book commonplace tradition in Western literature dates back to

antiquity, although "the source of the tradition is ultimately the primitive oral culture of all mankind" (Ong Interfaces 160).² According to Walter Ong, Aristotle, in his Rhetoric, "notes two classes of 'places': (a) 'common' places, headings providing materials for any and all subjects, and (b) 'special' places, headings offering matter for certain individual subjects, such as law or physics" (Interfaces 149). Up to the Renaissance these "places" (in the text) are where readers would go to find various topics (something like chapter headings); for example, to read about metaphysics, a reader would have gone to the "commonplace" section of the book. However, concerning the existence of a modern tradition of commonplaces, Ong asks a very good question: "Why was the commonplace tradition once so important, since it now seems so affected and boring and aesthetically counterproductive" (Interfaces 148)? Ong argues that the commonplace tradition, rather than indicative of a literary form, "relates to the evolution of means of accumulation, storage, retrieval of knowledge, and thus eventually . . . to the history of human psyche and of culture" (Interfaces 148).

The fact that Lodge began his literary career working within this tradition is far more than any personal idiosyncrasy: but it relates to this period of intellectual history in which he lived, when a tremendous change in consciousness occurred. Since the Renaissance, the

interrelation between memory and the printed text had intensified. Ironically, Lodge's late nineteenth-century work in the commonplace tradition, exemplifies another meaning of commonplace, which Ong argues as

somewhat deviously related to this first: a 'commonplace' could be a standard brief disquisition or purple patch on any hundreds or thousands of given subjects--loyalty, treachery, brotherhood, theft, decadence. . . these prefabricated disquisitions were excerpted from one's reading or listening or worked up by oneself (generally out of material taken or adapted from others). (Interfaces 150)

In Lodge's situation, his "purple patch" concerns the transitory quality of time: a thought probably derived from his relationships with Bigelow and Stickney. The most important aspect of this argument is that Lodge's (non-dramatic) poetry never seemed to be far removed from the commonplace tradition. According to Ong, "[p]ractice of one sort or another in the use of the commonplaces, in both senses of this term, helped virtually all poetry and other literature in the Western world from Homer through neoclassical" (Rhetoric 264). To readers in the post-modern period, Lodge's poetry may seem too abstract because it remained consistently philosophical (or disquisitive) throughout his career; however, one must understand his work

in a historical perspective to appreciate fully what he (and several others) was trying to accomplish, but largely without very much success. Essentially, Lodge's nineteenth-century romantic sensibility was being fettered by an outdated neoclassical education.

Critics have written about the remarkable failure of the "Harvard Poets" to live up to their potential (a part of their problem of course was that many actually died young). Although Lodge, as a member of this group, was writing poetry at the residual end of the Romantic period in American literature, in a much broader sense he was working with themes that are not out of fashion today. In Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology: Studies in the Interaction of Expression and Culture, Ong writes that "[r]omanticism has not been a transient phenomenon" (255). Ong further argues that most and "perhaps even all literary and artistic, not to mention scientific, movements since the romantic movements appear to have been only further varieties of romanticism, each in its own way" (255). Ong also argues that for even the "entire foreseeable future all serious developments in literature and art . . . will oscillate back and forth between one and another form of romantic alienation" (Rhetoric 256). However, the commonplace tradition, which was rooted in classical antiquity, "is seriously at odds with the romantic hankering for what is different, original, strange, ineffable, inaccessible,

unknown" (Ong Rhetoric 257). In Lodge's case, the "high contrast of the commonplace tradition with romanticism" may explain Lodge's lackluster critical reception, because even from the very beginning, his philosophy seems to have been at odds with his technique, which had also been Adams's criticism of Lodge's work (Ong Rhetoric 257). (Underscoring this point is the fact that Lodge scored a "D" in English, but thrived in idealist philosophy). Thus, Lodge was beginning his poetic career composing material about what can only be called romantic alienation, by practicing a technique which essentially had begun to disappear with neoclassicism. Lodge was essentially using a grammar school system of memorization to compose original, abstract thoughts.

As he liked to say in The Education, Adams had always felt that a part of him remained a neoclassical or an eighteenth-century (Quincy) man. Ong argues that "[p]ractice in the use of the commonplaces, in both senses of this term, was kept particularly vigorous by the continued academic dominance of Learned Latin" (Rhetoric 166). Both Adams and Lodge were educated in the old system which was dominated by Learned Latin. Although by the time Lodge had entered Harvard, President Charles Eliot (with Adams's help) had already reformed the curriculum by encouraging the faculty to do research and "to present that work in specialized course offerings" (Schlereth 250), much

of the prescribed curriculum still emphasized Latin, Greek, and mathematics. However, by the "early twentieth-century, Harvard's only course requirement for graduation was freshmen English composition" (Schlereth 250), which demonstrates a remarkable turnaround from the pre-1870s classical-based education to a modern, vernacular one. This transformation was not at all easy. According to Ong,

[i]nevitably, from the time when Latin had ceased to be the language one spoke at home, its users depended for their materials almost exclusively upon a corpus of writings more or less isolated from the ebb and flow of their vernacular speech
. . . .

We must continually remind ourselves that, by and large, well through the nineteenth century the only poetry a student was allowed to study or write in preparatory school or university was normally Latin poetry (with scraps of Greek perhaps). (Rhetoric 267)

Eliot's reforms were thus largely aimed at breaking the Latin stranglehold on education and enhancing the elective selections.³ In any such monumental reform would be difficult for those students who would be caught in the transition, such as Lodge had been. (Lodge's father, Henry, had really witnessed the educational revolution in the 1870's, when he attended Harvard). Much of the criticism

that Santayana voiced in The Genteel Tradition about the lack of a dignified poetic is a reaction to the transition from the old classical system to the new: the new poetic lacked classical polish and sensibility. According to Crowley, in "Whitman and the Harvard Poets: The Case of George Cabot Lodge," most of the "short-lived Harvard poets of the nineties--William Vaughn Moody, Hugh McCulloch, Phillip Savage, Trumbull Stickney, George Cabot Lodge--found Whitman intoxicating but somewhat inimical to their studied pessimism and classical taste" (165). However, as Ong's work has pointed out, the ambivalence of these poets toward a very vernacular-based poet (like Whitman) had more to do with their classically structured minds than just mere "taste." Crowley does not understand that their preference for the classical had been literally driven (even caned) into them by their education, at least during their formative grammar and preparatory school days. Although Crowley may have understood the superficial circumstances of the educational revolution, he seems unaware that these dramatic changes reflect psychological ones on a grand scale indeed. Therefore, as students transitioning essentially between the classical and liberal systems, the Harvard poets could not help but find Whitman exciting and troubling at the same time.

One similarity between Lodge's more liberal and Adams's more classical education would naturally have been that both

systems left them wondering what to do with their lives after graduating--since neither educational system was vocationally oriented.⁴ For example, in the winter of 1896-7, Lodge decided that he needed to go to Berlin to study. However, Adams, using the hindsight of an older man, typically sees little "practical" value in this experience:

Schopenhauer can be studied anywhere, and neither Goethe nor Schiller needs to be read in Berlin; but his letters show that his enforced, solitary labor during this winter threw him back upon himself, and led him to publish his work before he fairly knew in what direction his strength lay.

(Life 61)

Until he felt ready to meet the challenges of adulthood, this German experience, like the French one, seemed only to have been a diversion for Lodge. Having finally chosen to make his life's work as a poet, Lodge felt the need to justify his existence by publishing The Song of the Wave, in the spring of 1898, a 135-page volume of poetry. Adams clearly believed that this work was published prematurely and that this type of poetry did not demonstrate Lodge at his best.

Adams diplomatically states that such "work marks the steps of study and attainment rather than attainment itself" (Life 68). Yet Adams, even as a "cold critic," loved "the youthful freshness, the candor, the honest workmanship, the

naif self-abandonment of the artist" (Life 72). Adams states that Lodge also remained "weary of the air of attainment, of cleverness, of certainty and completion" (Life 72). Adams quotes Lodge as stating that "'the Petrarchan form adds a dignity and beauty to a sonnet which no other form possesses. The contour is much more harmonious and symmetrical'" (Life 27). Adams also points out that although Lodge was cutting his poetic teeth with this Petrarchan sonnet form, the young poet was working toward an even higher art form:

the reason why so many young poets begin by writing sonnets is that the sonnet is the mode of expression best adapted for practice; it insists on high perfection in form; any defect in weakness betrays itself, and the eye can cover fourteen lines at once without too great an effort. Lodge liked the labor of sonnet-writing, and it taught him the intricacies of language and the refinements of expression which every literary artist must try. (Life 61)

At the very least, the poet had developed the ideal "proportion" required in the sonnet form to express philosophical ideas. Throughout his life, Adams had used the sonnet only to express courtly love to women such as Elizabeth Cameron (Samuels Adams 235). Adams believed that the sonnet "tends to carry . . . personal refinements to

excess" and therefore was not the proper form for serious expression (Life 67). Hence, this volume of poetry does not introduce a major poetic career, but rather seems to complete the first phase of Lodge's education.

Lodge's education took a very serious turn at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in January 1898. The war "drew him at once into government service" as a cadet on board his uncle Captain Davis' ship, the *Dixie* (Adams Life 73). Adams's view of Lodge's service is interestingly laudatory:

During the three months that this war in the tropics lasted, he had other things than poems to think about, and his letters convey an idea that perhaps the life of naval officer actually suited his inherited instincts best. (Adams Life 73)

Interestingly, Adams thinks that Lodge's talents would be better served in a military career rather than a literary one. And Lodge's letters do convey the sense that even he recognized a life of action better suited his personality than a life of poetry. For example, in a letter to his mother, Lodge writes: "'These great golden days go over me, and it seems as if all the real imaginative side of me was under lock and key'" (Adams Life 74). In a sense, Lodge has to repress his own personality here, putting what he considered as the "real" Lodge on hold, the sensitive poet rather than the tough soldier. By using this particular

letter, Adams coyly underscores a point that personality repression seems almost a way of life in this military environment.

In another letter to his mother, Lodge writes that a day or two ago we went out for thirty-six hours and fired all the big guns. I fired both of mine myself, and surprised to find the shock not at all serious. The whole process was very interesting, and I shall try to remember it all and be able to tell you all about to when I get back. . . . There is one thing I am convinced of and that is that I can make my guncrews fight and my guns effective, and that is after all the principal thing. (Adams Life 75)

History is full of examples of men of similar social status who may have only realized it too late, and the fact that this young man understood that the "principal thing" of war is the delivery of firepower should not be taken for granted.⁵ Lodge understood that war means destruction; clearly, as Adams indicated, Lodge had the "inherited instincts" for the profession. Yet Lodge did not have any inclination to remain a naval officer after the hostilities had ceased.

Interestingly, Lodge's experience as a cadet on a warship is a perfect illustration of the contradictory personality Adams had been trying to convey. Although he

fought against his culture with what Adams describes as a "primitive instinct," rather than a "reasoning process," Lodge was an extremely outgoing young man who understood social responsibilities (Life 83). Adams further writes that immediately after the war, Lodge "threw himself with all his energy in the direction which led away from the regular paths of modern activity" (Life 83). Although he had shown "unbounded zeal and unflagging industry" as a sailor (Adams Life 82), as a civilian he regained his intense hostility to the society had just risked his life to protect. The later attitude stems from his desires to be a poet, and the world-weary pose was not only a self-defense mechanism but also the fashion at the time. Thus, much like Adams himself, when society needed him, Lodge had served willingly, but when he felt that society no longer needed him, he once again rebelled against it.⁶ It had almost become a predictable paradox of someone of his class, however.

As Adams also points out, Lodge's contradictory nature carried over to his choice of wife: Elizabeth Davis. Like Lodge (and Adams), she was another "surviv[or] of rare American stock." Yet instead of representing an act of rebellion against his culture, Lodge's engagement to her signifies more an act of acceptance of that culture's oldest convention--marriage. In a letter to Elizabeth during their courtship, Lodge writes that only "'men who live in the

constant strain of feeling alone against the world are forced to concentrate their passions on an object that seems to them above the world'" (Adams Life 91). Of course, this sentiment was an old poetic convention in itself, but Lodge seems to have believed it was an experience uniquely his own (which is, again, a romantic convention). Adams uses Lodge's romance as an illustration that despite seriously trying to disregard his contemporary culture, in many ways Lodge remained quite a conventional individual. Essentially, although Lodge seemed to deplore his contemporary culture, he was unable to abandon it fully.

However, Lodge's contradictory characteristics did mature eventually into an attitude that Adams seems to have agreed with:

The man who places himself out of line with the current of society sees most the ridiculous or grotesque features of his surroundings, and finds most in them to laugh at. The convictions that either he or society is insane,--or perhaps, both,--becomes a fixed idea, with humorous sides; and cruel satire, it is often genial and sometimes playful. Young Lodge laughed with the rest, at the world or himself by turns. (Adams Life 92)

Lodge's self-imposed intellectual exile from his contemporary culture finds its voice in irony and laughter. Adams considers this sense of humor as the most significant

development in the career of Lodge, and it marked the end of the beginning of his literary education. The earnestness of Lodge's earliest poetry is now replaced by an irony which worked out the inherent contradictions of life. The point is, Blackmur argues, "that without cooperation poetry cannot achieve its intention, with the looming implication that without poetry society cannot continue to exist for long" (233). To produce poetry, society must first of all produce poets.

Married and settled in the United States and his education behind him, by August 1901 Lodge was in what was to be the prime of his literary career. According to Adams, Lodge had not only found his voice, but he also found the genre that best suited his talents--drama. Lodge published two works of verse drama, Cain (1904) and Herakles (1908). Adams describes Lodge's dramatic motive as being always the same, whether in Cain, or in Herakles It was that of Schopenhauer, of Buddhism, of Oriental thought everywhere,--the idea of Will, making the universe, but existing only as subject. The Will is god; it is nature; it is all that is; but it is knowable only as ourself. Thus the sole tragic action of humanity is the ego,--the Me,-- always maddened by the necessity of self-sacrifice, the superhuman effort of lifting himself and the universe by sacrifice. (Life 109)

According to Adams, moreover, this idea of self-sacrifice for the good of mankind was "impossible to realize except as a form of insanity" in the modern world (Life 110).

In the modern world, self-repression (identified as the imprisonment of the will) seems to have replaced self-sacrifice. Thus, Adams continues:

All Saviors were anarchists, but Christian anarchists, tortured by the self-contradictions of their role. All were insane, because their problem was self-contradictory, and because in order to raise the universe in oneself to its highest power, its negative powers must be paralyzed or destroyed. In reality, nothing was destroyed; only the Will--or what we now call energy--was freed and perfected. (Life 110)

Not only does Adams here describe the philosophical essence of Lodge's poetry, he also echoes a basic tenet of his own pessimistic beliefs. As Adams writes in the Life, the idea of freeing of the Will had "the supreme merit of being the most universal tragic motive in the whole possible range of thought" (111). Blackmur asserts that it was no wonder that Adams praised this idea; "it had been the thematic background against which he had raised his own twin towers of Energy--or Will--in the Education and the Chartres" (Adams 232).

In "Henry Adams: His Passage to India," Margaret J. Brown writes that in the final book of his career, Adams "probed Lodge's use of Oriental concepts in his poems and in his two most important plays. . . . His biography of Lodge stresses the ideals of abnegation and self-sacrifice that Adams felt underlay the major Eastern faiths" (244), ideals which greatly contrasted with the modern world's "ideals" of materialism and selfishness. As if to ensure Lodge's legacy, Adams makes Lodge's ideas mirror his own, so that Lodge will completely fulfill his role as Adams's intellectual double--two minds would indeed be stronger than one. Blackmur points out, however, that the essential difference between them was that Adams never yielded to death, and that when he yielded to eccentricities it was not to those of conduct but to deep eccentricities of being, and yielded only to make a balance between them. (233)

Blackmur continues his argument: Adams's "theme was Lodge's theme, to raise man to his highest idea of himself" (233). Thus, as the differences in the lives of these two men demonstrate, while Lodge's ideas of the greater "Will" would really only remain an abstraction, Adams lived his life as an example of that energy. Blackmur finishes his analysis by stating that neither "Lodge's poetry nor his printed letters warrant the strength of Adams's expressions; he wrote rather from the larger context of his own work and

temperament, not with judgement but with mimetic imagination" (233). In Blackmur's opinion, by having the uncaring Bostonian finally understand that Lodge had all along been Adams's intellectual equal, Adams's Life was born out of his desire to elevate the literary reputation of his friend (and not as a result of familial pressure).

That Adams had been a good friend of Lodge is one final consideration never to forget about this biography. In the last chapter of Life, entitled simply "The End," Adams briefly moves out of his impersonal tone to address the reader directly: "This is the whole story! What other efforts Lodge might have made, if he had lived into another phase of life, the effort he had made in this first phase of life was fatal and final" (182). The effect of this change in tone makes Lodge seem even more tragic: his failure was a human failure and not totally a figurative one. Therefore, although throughout the book Adams had been placing most of the blame on society for Lodge's perceived failure, he now allows for the possibility of Lodge's own culpability as well. Adams thus writes that Lodge "rebelled against admitting it,--refused to see it,--yet was conscious that something hung over him which would have some tragic end" (Life 183). Yet following this sentence, Adams writes that

[p]ossibly the encouragement of great literary success might have helped and stimulated the

action of the heart, but he steeled himself against the illusion of success, and bore with apparent and outward indifference of the public.

(Life 183)

Adams has moved back to his original stance, that Lodge's failure came from the lack of an appreciative audience. The result of this minor fluctuation is just a hint at the difficulty Adams may have had maintaining a consistently impersonal narrative voice. Adams continues this final chapter by emphasizing the ironic decline of the young man's once vigorous strength. Adams writes: "In June, 1908, he went abroad with his mother and father, for change and rest, but his letters show a growing sense of fatigue and effort" (Life 183). Curiously, the three successive letters that Adams quotes from do not at first seem demonstrative of a weakening man. For example, in a letter to his wife, Lodge writes

Our own voyage has come so warmly, so beautifully, back to me in these tranquil sea-days, our own so clear and fine and high adventure into strange new ways, our great adventure into strange new ways, our great adventure which is still in the making.

(Life 185)

Despite Lodge's claim that their life together was "still in the making," there must have been a hint of mania in his language. It seems as if he knew that the end was near and

he had to put a good face on his life. Of course, as a close friend, Adams could clearly see the signs where others would not. In the next letter, Lodge's language reflects much of the same mood: "I find essentially that I seem to demand much more of life than I ever did, and in consequence take it all here with a less perfect gaiety and a more intense reflection" (Adams Life 186). Finally, in the last of these letters, Lodge writes, "my youth has appeared to me in colors richer and more comprehensible than ever before" (Life 187). Thus, by using these letters, Adams demonstrates that in order to disguise his failing health, Lodge's is trying to elevate his experience and language beyond the normal range.

Despite not having a large reading public, Lodge did have one reader who had always been an particularly strong advocate--Marjorie Nott. In the last few days of his life, Lodge also wrote her several poignant letters which Adams uses to underscore his claim that signs of the end had been evident, but everyone had ignored them. In one letter, Lodge clearly sounds like a man who had been contemplating his fate:

Every man of us has the Gods to complain of; every man of us, sooner or later, in some shape, experiences the tragedy of life. But that, too obviously, is nothing, and my tragedy or yours, his or hers, is another. All of us must suffer in

the general human fate, and some must suffer of private wrongs. (Adams Life 188)

Lodge goes on to intimate his private pain: "surely I don't complain of the solitude, which has, of course, its high value; but I do, inevitably, well know it's there. I'll spare you more" (Adams Life 189). Although Lodge may have begun his career with the pose of the world-weary poet, by this time in his life it had become more than a pose. A career which had started out with abstract commonplaces had become one of private grief.

Yet despite his problems, Lodge still tried to find meaning in his existence. In a letter to Langdon Mitchell, Lodge writes about what he calls "God's nativity within us":

It is the sustained courage, the long stern patience, the intensest daily labor, the clear, perpetual vigilance of thought, the great resolve, tranquil and faithful in its strength,--it is these things, it is the work in short, the wonderful slow work of man about the soul's business, which accomplishes constantly--as we both know so well--some real thing which makes us, however gradually, other and nobler and greater than we are, because precisely it makes us more than we are. (Adams Life 193)

Although Adams withholds personal comment about this letter, the thinking in it is probably the most lucid in all of

Lodge's writings. Whether one agrees with his ideas or not, Lodge's language most clearly states what he had been trying to say philosophically throughout his literary career-- although Blackmur has argued that Lodge's printed letters do not warrant "the strength of Adams's expressions" (233). In this one insistence at least, not only does Lodge make himself very clear, but at the same time noble in this final attempt at literary clarity. Describing patience as the one attribute that has seen him through his disappointing career, Lodge finishes this letter by writing:

We never realize quite at once that only patience can see us through, and that if the moment is not eternity and the place not Paradise it must be just because we are busy about what is not, in the truest strict test, our real concern.

(Adams Life 193)

According to Blackmur, if one understands the reason Adams tried so hard to present Lodge as a rebel against an indifferent society, one can then understand Adams's own artistic burden (234).

The last chapter of Adams's Mont-Saint Michel and Chartres illustrates this burden best:

If we like, we can go on to study, inch by inch, the slow decline of the art. The essence both in the thought and the building. . . . Modern science, like modern art, tends, in practice, to

drop the dogma of organic unity. Some of the medieval habit of mind survives, but even that is said to be yielding before the daily evidence of increasing and extending complexity. (693)

Thus, according to Adams, both artistic vision and craftsmanship have steadily been declining since the Middle Ages. And the chief culprit of this disintegration is "complexity;" ironically, the very term which is used by modern artists to describe their work appreciatively. Adams continues his criticism of the modern culture by stating that the

fault, then, was not in man, if he no longer looked at science or art as an organic whole or as the expression of unity. Unity turned itself into complexity, multiplicity, variety, and even contradiction. All experience, human and divine, assured man in the thirteenth century that the lines of the universe converged. How was he to know that these lines ran in every conceivable and inconceivable direction, and that at least half of them seemed to diverge from any imaginable centre of unity. . . ! Art had to be confused in order to express [modern] confusion. (Chartres 693)

Although in this passage Adams has been mainly discussing architecture, the same aesthetic principles apply to poetry as well: society at large really cannot help but be too

distracted for poetry because it is the condition of modern life. Interestingly, because in this instance Adams does not condemn modern man for his ignorance as he does in the biography, the whole tone of Adams's criticism here shows none of the anger that critics have argued he uses in the Life. Adams's attitude towards the condition of art seems almost fatalistic. On the other hand, although he may have understood the futility in trying to reform a whole culture, Adams's jeremias temper would not allow him to sit still without at least trying. Unlike his friend, Adams would not succumb prematurely. Therefore, in the Life, because his young friend ended up being too frail to fight the good fight for himself, Adams was going to have the last word in Lodge's honor--which ended up literally being Adams's last word as well. As this analysis indicates, the burden of the serious artist is that although he knows his art will be a failure, he must continue on anyway (that is if failure equates to not having a large and appreciative audience).

In his criticism of the Life, Hotchfield writes that "in his last book, Henry Adams presents himself once again as a failure, this time in a light both more pathetic and more rebellious than before" (144). Hotchfield continues his analysis of Adams's treatment of Lodge:

His was a sensitive and timid nature, born for art in a time when art was a dying instinct, and living the life of a thwarted alien among his

uncomprehending fellows. Indeed, the Life of Lodge terminates the theme of failure in Adams's works. Lodge's quest was that of the artist seeking in achieved poetic expression the reason for his being. In his failure Adams witnesses and objectifies the ultimate hopelessness of his own life. (144)

As a contextual reading of this biography has demonstrated, Adams depicts the life of Lodge in very much the same way he had treats his own--as a noble failure. The theme of failure, however, applies only to a lack of success in a material sense. These two men may have experienced great artistic frustration, but they measured ultimate success only in intrinsic terms. As their correspondence demonstrates, both Adams and Lodge would have felt much more frustrated had they ever thought they had sold out for commercial, popular interests. Therefore, the Life neatly fits into the underlying theme of Adams's later work--that the modern artist was alienated in a cultural wasteland.

Notes

¹According to Crowley, Lodge also unsuccessfully attempted to write French Symbolist poetry--the school of poetry which would greatly influence Eliot and the modernist poets (Lodge 27).

²According to Ong,

During the Renaissance, the commonplace heritage of antiquity and the Middle Ages became in many ways more important than ever before. . . .

[T]he Renaissance fixed its attention on material visually stored and retrievable. Its lexical and linguistic base was not an orally possessed language as such, but a body of texts--a controlled and closed field, at least in principle more or less explicitly bounded. The adoption of this base was crucial in the history of commonplace materials, for it was to mark the beginning of the end of the commonplace tradition. Commonplaces had their deepest roots in the noetic needs of an oral world. The Renaissance preoccupation with texts, inherited from the Middle Ages but intensified by print tended to shift the focus of the verbalization from the world of sound to the surface of the page, from the aural to the visual. This is not to say there were not competing tendencies in the Renaissance, such as the accentuation of the oral fostered by the cult of the classical orator, but the effect of print was ultimately to prove overwhelming.

(Interfaces 161-163)

This evolutionary process relates to Lodge in that it explains how his mind worked in retrieving memories from the past. As this text shows, he starts from an abstraction of the past and moves to a specific memory--the vision of his sister "'driving old Rab up the side-walk'" (Adams Life 42). Although Lodge, as a nineteenth-century practitioner of the commonplace tradition, is rather removed from the Renaissance, he nevertheless exemplifies Ong's argument about how the text and consciousness have evolved.

³According to Henry James, in Charles William Eliot, before Eliot became its President in 1869, Harvard could only have been considered a progressive school because of its science faculty and electives, not its liberal education (207). James writes that

[w]hat could be said justly was only that these, and three or four men in the College Faculty who were imbued with a modern spirit of scholarship, had refreshed and liberalized the Cambridge atmosphere. . . . These great advantages were lacking at Ithaca and Ann Arbor, where Cornell and the University of Michigan were setting out to become true universities.

To say that a Harvard Student could choose half his courses during his last three years in college sounded well, but closer scrutiny revealed only meager offering options. He might read one

Greek or Latin author rather than another; he might study more mathematics or less. . . . So when people stated, as they sometimes did in a tragic matter, that the question was whether Latin and Greek were to be discarded or dishonored in the places where they had been cultivated, they blinked the main difficulty. The real question was whether colleges were to be groups of schoolmasters engaged upon a disciplinary course of elementary teaching, or were to become places in which a spirit of eager and universal inquiry sought the meaning and beauty of language, literature, history, science, and philosophy alike. (209)

James continues his examination of the old system of instruction at Harvard by giving a perfect example of the differences between a classical and liberal education. James writes that a "product of the old order once exclaimed to William James: 'I can't understand your philosophy. When I studied philosophy, I could understand it. We used to commit it to memory'" (Eliot 209).

'However, in Founders of the Middle Ages, E. K. Rand does argue that four years at Harvard should be consecrated to the attainment of a liberal or aristocratic education. Yes, I have ventured to say it, aristocratic, for it is a

synonym for liberal, in the original meaning of the latter term. Aristocratic it is, for it aims at the best; it ennobles; it puts the stamp of a civilized gentlemen on those who posses it; or, in case we do not all turn out Lord Chesterfields, it at least makes our uncouth spirits finer than they would have been. It is a vocational programme, for one whose vocation is the art of life. It is a utilitarian programme, for it is of inestimable utility whatever one's trade. (232)

⁵For example, in a May, 1862 letter to his brother Charles, who at the time was serving in the Union army, Adams himself writes, "I would like to see you covered with glory, I would be extremely well satisfied to hear that you had ended the campaign and ridden into Charleston without firing a shot or drawing a sabre" (Adams Letters 45). Although Adams is clearly aware of the possibility of his brother's death on the battlefield, his understanding of warfare is not much different from that of Henry Fleming's in The Red Badge of Courage. To these two young men, warfare could only be hand-to-hand combat and heroic--as depicted in the classical epics. However, Lodge understands that fundamental to warfare is getting your men to operate as machines--such an understanding is an inherently mechanical and unheroic. It seems an older Adams could very

well have been correct in thinking that Lodge would have made a good naval officer in the modern world.

Although Adams had never served in the military, he did serve as a secretary to his father when the senior Adams was Ambassador to England during the Civil War. In Patriot Gore, Wilson writes

In the case of Henry Adams, there seems hardly to have been any question of his serving in the Civil War. When the attack on Fort Sumter occurred, his father Charles Francis Adams, had already been appointed Minister to England and asked Henry to be his private secretary. Henry remained in England from 1861 to 1868, so missed all but the commencement of the war. He says that, during his first year in London, when a third of his classmates at Harvard had enlisted, he thought of going home and enlisting, too, but he never got to the point of doing so. (666)

The Adams family, like the Cabot and Lodges, has always been known as one of service to the country. As expressed in The Education, one of the major disappointments in Adams's life was that he never could find the right job to fulfill his desire for public service. His permanent residence across from the White House underscores ironically the fact that this Adams could only be a public servant in exile.

3. A Small, But Distinguished Circle of Friends

Besides Adams, Edith Wharton and Theodore Roosevelt also wrote biographical accounts of Lodge. In order to understand as much about Lodge as possible, this chapter not only compares Wharton's portrait of Lodge with Adams's biography, but also compares both to the strenuous biographical account written by Theodore Roosevelt. As one would imagine from their vastly divergent personalities, these biographers obviously emphasized distinct facets of Lodge's personality. Therefore, because these writers were so easily able to shape their materials, Lodge seems to have had a personality to fit any biographical situation. Whereas the politician Roosevelt could be accused of puffery, however, as one would expect from professional writers, both Adams and Wharton respectfully attempted a balanced critical approach. Despite all the evidence presented in this dissertation thus far, several critics have wrongly argued that Adams's work had done the young poet a disservice. Undeniably, Edmund Wilson's critical introduction to the biography in The Shock of Recognition--in which he favors Wharton's memoir over Adams's--has been the source for this incorrect assumption. To the detriment of Adams scholarship, subsequent critics have unjustifiably

shaped their views about Adams's biography of Lodge to correspond with Wilson's argument.

Although Wilson introduced the critical view that Adams's biography figuratively reduced Lodge's personality to almost nothing, Adams's work certainly has more in common with Wharton's than it does with Roosevelt's. Concerning Adams's Life, Wilson writes in The Shock of Recognition that

[t]his dreary and cold little book--published in 1911, when Adams was seventy-three--is perhaps the most uncanny example of Adams's equivocal attitude in relation to the social world of Boston and to the official world of Washington out of which he had come and to which he had inevitably reverted, but with which he never ceased to express his extreme dissatisfaction. . . . [H]e turns the poor young man into a shadow, and withers up his verse with a wintry pinch. (744)

Therefore, whether Adams has unjustly turned Lodge into a "shadow" is the central question in this chapter.

Interestingly, Wilson even argues that there would be "no point in including a memoir of Lodge [in Wilson's own book] if Henry Adams had not written about him" (Shock 743). In the final analysis, Wilson's objections to Adams's portrait become more of an issue than the differences between Adams's and Wharton's.

Throughout his career, Wilson's view of Henry Adams remained a consistent thesis. In his 1962 Patriot Gore: Studies in the Literature of the American Civil War, almost literally repeating himself from his 1943 Shock of Recognition, Wilson again argued that Adams had always demonstrated a "certain aridity and bleakness" which not only came from his "New England heritage" but also from his "lack of a compelling faith" (668). Wilson goes on to write that a

Lincoln or a Harriet Beecher Stowe was impassioned by a vision, a purpose. The one sought to obtain for his nation that it should have, under God, a new birth of freedom and prove to the sneering old world that such a government as the Revolution had tried to establish could survive internal dissension; Mrs. Stowe, who had been read to in her childhood from Cotton Mather's history of New England, still believed that America was "consecrated by some special dealing of God's providence." (Gore 668)

Wilson argues that Adams, "once the Civil War was over," was not able "to dedicate himself to any such whole-souled endeavor" as these two individuals had (Gore 668). According to Wilson, therefore, Adams had faith neither in the democracy nor in the religion of his society. Hence, as this later critical work demonstrates, Wilson had maintained

the view that Adams not only was a demonstratively pessimistic writer, but that he also lacked both a "compelling" vision or purpose. Moreover, as Wilson asserted strongly in his introduction to Adams's Life, Adams's pessimism had even carried into his literary treatment of a friend.

Unequivocally, Wilson's assessment about Adams's treatment of Lodge has been accepted and perpetuated by subsequent critics such as Crowley. In his introduction to the 1978 facsimile edition of Adams's Life, Crowley has argued that Adams was ultimately discouraged by Lodge's family from really writing "the iconoclastic book he and Bay would have wanted" (vii). Thus, Crowley further argues, "Adams resorted to stylistic subterfuge"; he "would attack Boston by indirection" (Introduction vii). As proof for his argument, Crowley uses a letter from Adams to Lodge's widow, dated 29 July 1910:

I have so far respected the so-called American standards of taste, which are mere standards of feebleness, as to tone down the expression of my own standards to a level which seems to me flat and cold. That is not the way I should express myself if I had only myself to express. It is not the way Bay expressed himself. (Introduction vii)

In this particular case, Crowley seems to be taking Adams's concession to the poor state of American literary taste more

seriously than Adams himself did. The evidence shows that Adams always felt somewhat constrained by his audience; since this book came so late in Adams's career, concern for his audience was not an issue new to his work now. As shown in the first chapter, so that his audience could appreciate his arguments, Adams had even toned down his rhetoric in "A Letter to American Teachers of History." His intense awareness of an audience did not stop him from complaining about the literacy of that audience, nor did it make him feel that he had ever compromised his literary integrity. Although Adams was firmly convinced that modern culture was in a degraded state, at the same time, he was not without the ability to make his opinions subtle. Moreover, the whole point of Adams's argument had been that Lodge was a neglected artist, which confirms the fact that the American public neither thought nor wrote the way he and Lodge had. To put Adams's point more simply, the use of language could separate the good people from the bad.

The way Adams structured the book was to use Lodge's letters to convey the narrative; therefore, to a large degree it is exactly "the way Bay expressed himself." Because Crowley seems so intent on conforming to Wilson's assessment, he overlooks several important facts in his argument. Thus, in complete agreement with Wilson, Crowley assumes that this "letter [to Lodge's wife] explains the curious tone of The Life of Lodge which is so ironic at

times, so flat and cold" (Introduction viii). To this day, therefore, Wilson's interpretation remains the accepted view about Adams's biography.

In his introduction to Adams's Life, Wilson also claims that it "is possible to check Henry Adams's account by the portrait left by Edith Wharton" (744), although arguably the two end up having more similarities than differences. Generally, in their separate versions of a Lodge biography, both Adams and Wharton strongly share a similar aim--to get recognition for their lost friend. However, because Wharton wrote her version before anyone else and would not have had to be concerned with what had been written before, she is able to develop a more straight-forward approach--he unequivocally praises the man, but carefully depreciates the poetry. In the writing of her version, Wharton's overriding impulse is to emphasize Lodge's personality. On the other hand, instead of trying to define a personality, Adams is trying to explain a historical situation. As was discussed in the previous chapter, Lodge's personality paradoxically had to be depersonalized by Adams before he could "fit" into his own biography. In her memoir, on the other hand, Wharton is singularly trying to recreate that one particular attribute which made Lodge such a special person in her life--his personality.

Specifically, in A Backward Glance, Edith Wharton portrays Lodge as "brilliant and exuberant" (149), which is,

as Wilson points out, "the kind of fact one does not get from Adams" (Shock 744). Wilson continues his analysis:

[Wharton's] description of the atmosphere of loving protection with which young Lodge was surrounded is strikingly at variance with Adams's picture of a violator of convention and a contender against the times. (Shock 744)

Because he has failed to recognize any possibility of irony in Adams's depiction of Lodge--as a poet who wished to break from convention, but paradoxically could not do so--Wilson is only partly correct in stating that Adams's portrait differs from Wharton's. The differences seem to be contextual, more within the psychologies of the two writers themselves than in the text.

Therefore, a thorough examination needs to be done here to clarify Lodge's relationship with Wharton (especially since all three individuals seemed to have been very close friends). In a Backward Glance, Wharton further writes that Lodge's

fate, in fact, was the reverse of mine, for he grew up in a hot-house of intensive culture, and was one of the most complete examples I have ever known of the young genius before whom an adoring family unites in smoothing the way. This kept him out of the struggle of life, and to the end his intellectual precocity was combined with a

boyishness of spirit at once delightful and pathetic. (150)

Since she was born and raised through adolescence in New York, Wharton was an outsider looking in, whereas Adams was the complete insider. A large part of Wharton's popularity was the result of the shift from Boston to New York as America's cultural capitol.¹ New York especially offered a larger reading audience. To a great degree, Adams's rage at Boston was that his society had let their cultural status slip away.² Moreover, the idea of mercantile New York as cultural center was proof enough that the modern world had gone to hell. Despite the wealth of new opportunities that her city had to offer, Wharton thought that Lodge had been offered a better cultural opportunity growing up in Boston, whereas Adams and Lodge had spent their entire adult lives bemoaning Boston as a cultural wasteland. The source of Adams's anger in the Life is the fact that Boston did not care to support its own son. Thus, in many ways, the differences between Wharton and Adams had to do with where they came from. (Interestingly, Wilson was the consummate New York critic as well, and he sides with the other New Yorker).

There is an interesting variety of both similarities and differences in Adams's and Wharton's assessment of Lodge. For example, Wharton's assessment that perhaps Lodge "was not meant for an active task in letters" (Glance 150),

as was seen in chapter two, does not conflict at all with Adams's judgment that Lodge was better suited for a career as a naval officer than as a poet. One important difference between the two writers, however, is that Wharton's comments about the overly protective family carry none of the psychological baggage that Adams brings to his work. "Uncle" Henry was a part of the family and knew first-hand the difficulty in finding a literary voice in the Lodge family environment; Adams also had to repress similar experiences in his own family. Yet it is Wharton's memoir that emphasizes this aspect of Lodge's life and not Adams's.

In No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture (1880-1920), Jackson Lears argues that Wharton's memories of Lodge show him as growing up in a "hot house atmosphere [of] affection [which] 'kept Bay in a state of brilliant immaturity'" (237). Furthermore, Lears basically thinks that Lodge best "illustrates the difficulties of male identity under the aegis of affection" (237). Lears goes on to argue that

[f]inancially and emotionally dependent on his parents throughout his life, he never developed a firm sense of adult identity. Though the father was patient and forgiving, he embodied an unattainable ideal for his son. And young Lodge's sense of inadequacy was exacerbated by the dictates of the modern superego--more stringent

than his parents' demands. He sank periodically into immobilizing depression, torn between respect for the achievement ethos and rage against its constricting influence. (237)

Finally, Lears finishes this description of Lodge by stating that "[u]nable to meet the standards for male achievement set by familial and cultural authority, Lodge took refuge in a private cult of Promethean masculinity" (237). Lears' description not only clarifies Wharton's memoirs, but also tends to confirm some of Adams's analysis of Lodge as well. For example, both Wharton and Adams had thought the Lodge family had been overly protective of Lodge. Lears' description of Lodge's episodic fits of "immobilizing" depression, however, conflicts with that of both Adams and Wharton; their memories of Lodge was that he had always been a cheerful companion.

Although Wharton was not as close a friend of Lodge's family as Adams had been, she evidently was a very close friend of Lodge himself. In Edith Wharton: A Biography, R. W. B. Lewis describes Wharton's relationship with Lodge as being very close and supportive: she considered him the "most interesting of the persons she met through [Walter] Berry's wide acquaintanceship" (80).³ Lodge was twenty-five years old (then working as a secretary for his father) when he first met Wharton in Washington, D. C., during the spring of 1898. Their friendship formed immediately and would

remain close throughout their lives. Lewis observes that Wharton

found Bay Lodge's poetry earnest and even forceful, but, except for the occasional significant line, falling short of genuine beauty. The man, however, made an immediate impression on her: one of "joyous physical life." (Biography 81)

They also shared "a profound hatred of what Lodge called 'the philistine-plutocrat atmosphere' of Newport and a reverential love of Walt Whitman" (Lewis Biography 81).

In her own words, Wharton confirms the same situation that her biographer had described; however, the most important point is the fact that she remembers Lodge as "chief" among the growing number of intimates in her life. In A Backward Glance, Wharton describes the development of her friendship with Lodge:

There [the Mount], every summer, I gathered about me my own group of intimates, of whom the number was slowly growing. Chief among the newcomers was a youth who, though many years younger, at once became the closest of comrades. Walter Berry, who lived and exercised his profession, in Washington, first put me in touch with his young friend, George Cabot Lodge (always "Bay" to his intimates). (149)

Neither she nor Lodge had become great literary successes at this time, but by the time Wharton was writing her autobiography (in the 1930s), she had certainly gone on to greater fame (being the first woman to win the Pulitzer Prize). Lodge, who had been dead for almost thirty years, was almost completely forgotten as a literary figure. Moreover, she remembers him being "many years younger," which would seem logical considering that by that time he was frozen in her memory as a young man, although she was only eleven years his senior.

Apparently, Wharton had developed a maternal attitude toward Lodge (as she was prone to do with anyone she favored). In a letter, dated 17 May 1902, to Margaret Terry Chanler (the daughter of expatriate American painter Luther Terry and the wife of Winthrop Astor Chanler), Wharton writes that

I don't know whether I wrote you that I saw a great deal of Bay Lodge when we were in Washington about six weeks ago. He is one of the satisfactory people who are the same color all through, like linoleum. So many are just oil-cloth! (Wharton Letters 64)

Although the metaphor is rather homely for Wharton's standards, the sentiment she expresses is genuine. Writing in letter to Lodge's widow eight months after his death, Wharton expresses her feelings for the poet:

Whenever you write to me it warms my heart, & brings Bay nearer. Not that he is ever far, heaven knows; but it is as if he came into the room with your letter. . . .

I shall never, never forget that warm afternoon in the thymy hillside over the little blue lake. Not that I shall ever forget any of it, or that his absence will ever leave less of a void in my life; but that particular sundrenched fragrant hour was so full of him, so like him in its warmth & brightness & abounding sense of life! (Wharton Letters 216)

Lodge would have clearly appreciated the notion that he remained so spiritually close to Wharton, since he valued the spiritual essence of man so much. Wharton is obviously paying homage to Lodge's philosophical beliefs here. The constant refrain from Wharton about Lodge concerned his vibrant sense of life, his "warmth" and "brightness" (ironically, the one aspect that she does not mention about him is his poetry).

As Lewis has written about Wharton in the biography, her "personal experience was never entirely real for her until it had been converted into literature" (224). And, as was often the case for Wharton, literature included more than either fiction or poetry; it included nonfiction as well. However, Wharton had not waited until 1938, when she

published A Backward Glance, to transform the experience of losing her friend; she had previously written about Lodge's death in her 1910 obituary essay for Scribner's magazine (roughly during the same time when Adams wrote the Life). Although the memoir is interesting in what Wharton later remembers about her experiences at the end of her life, by the time her memoir had been written, Lodge's life and death were only a distant memory: Wharton had gotten over the immediate sense of loss. Because the Scribner's essay was closer in time to Lodge's death, this memoir would better indicate her true sentiment. Therefore, in order to have a complete picture of this issue, it is important to compare both her Scribner's essay and her memoir in A Backward Glance with Adams's Life.

Interestingly, as was the case in her later memoir, the predominance of the man over his work also seems to be a theme in this Scribner's essay. Wharton begins by writing:

It would be impossible, I think, for any friend of George Cabot Lodge's to write of the poet without first speaking of the man; and this not only because his art was so close to his life, but also, and chiefly, because, to those near enough to measure him, his character, his temper, the "virtue" in him, made his talent, distinguished as it was, a mere part of an abounding whole. (236)

For those who would have known Wharton, she could not have given Lodge more important praise than this. As her letters to his friends and family attested, Wharton's commendation of Lodge's character seems to be completely sincere. Moreover, her remarks to the effect that Lodge's personality "made his talent" does not contradict any of her previous writings (nor will it be contradicted later in her memoir).

As her subsequent description points out, Wharton valued being in Lodge's company:

All this, on the day when he was first brought to see me--a spring afternoon of the year 1898 in Washington--was lit up by a beautiful boyish freshness, which as the years passed, somehow contrived to ripen without fading. ("Lodge" 236)

Wharton continues her description of her first meeting with Lodge: "In the first five minutes of our talk he gave himself with the characteristic wholeness that made him so rare a friend" ("Lodge" 236). Her perception of his "characteristic wholeness" is analogous to Lodge's concern for man's soul. Wharton also writes that "there was nothing of the pathetically predestined in young Cabot Lodge," and that he "lived every moment to the full, and the first impression he made was of a joyous physical life" ("Lodge" 236). In describing the spiritual purity of this poet, Wharton continually emphasizes that he possessed an abundant sense of life. She lays stress on this particular quality

because, just as Adams had aimed to do, she tries to make the case that Lodge was an artistic martyr. According to Wharton, Lodge may have given up his joyous physical life for the sake of his art.

Whereas Adams had aimed to elevate Lodge's critical stature by turning him into a figure to represent the larger Bostonian tradition, Wharton focuses on the particularities of his personality as she knew them. Hence, if Lodge's literary reputation was ever to rise, according to her view, it would have to be brought up by the force of his personality. Moreover, as had always been the fashion in literary elegies, she is nonetheless obviously trying to elevate Lodge beyond the commonplace: "Nothing was common or unclean to him but the vulgar, the base and insincere, and his youthful impatience at the littleness of human nature was tempered by an unusually mature sense of its humours" ("Lodge" 236). Therefore, despite the differences between Wharton's and Adams's memoirs, both writers shared the same purpose, which was to elevate the literary reputation of Lodge.

Finally getting to the subject of Lodge's poetry, Wharton continues her essay:

I might pause to speak of the accomplishments that made his society, from the first, so refreshing and animating: for he was an admirable linguist, a good "Grecian," a sensitive lover of the arts,

and possessed, on the whole, of the fullest general "culture" I have ever known in a youth of his age. ("Lodge" 236)

The author's intrusion into the narrative to announce her "pause," may have had the unintended results of drawing too close attention to Lodge's list of accomplishments: none of which seem all that noteworthy. Wharton's preceding praise for Lodge's personality had been almost too specific in its commendation, so when she pauses to announce Lodge's accomplishment as an artist, all that she can say about his work is that for someone his age, Lodge was the most cultured that she had ever known. Although that could be high praise coming from Wharton, it does imply that he was more of an aesthete than artist.

Again, in what seems to have been her typical maternal attitude toward Lodge, even allowing for the customs of that time, Wharton writes as if she much were older than he:

One is accustomed, in enjoying the comradeship of young minds, to allow in them for a measure of passing egotism, often the more marked in proportion to their sensitiveness to impressions; but it was Cabot Lodge's special grace to possess the sensitiveness without the egotism. ("Lodge" 236)

Thus, Wharton considered Lodge's lack of self-absorption his greatest attribute (a point which also does not contradict

Adams's estimation). However, one may suspect that Wharton may be unwittingly diminishing Lodge as a fellow intellectual, while she continues praising his good character. He seems never to have risen to her level; in her eyes, Lodge had always remained a boy.

Moreover, when she gets to his poetry, Wharton is not as laudatory in her praise as she had been with respect to Lodge's personality. However, if the praise for his work is more restrained, it would have been an insult to her friend just to puff his work.⁴ Thus, in a sense, Wharton ironically now honors him more in her professional restraint, than previously in her personal praise (because Lodge would have wanted to be remembered more as a serious artist than as an agreeable boy). Because much of Wharton's complaint about the Lodge family had been that they had pampered the boy so much that his work had remained on a level of relative immaturity, by taking his work seriously enough to frankly criticize it, Wharton avoids being an hypocrite. As an example of her frankness, Wharton writes that "[p]erhaps, if measured with his later works, the most distinctive thing about 'The Song of the Wave,' is its title" ("Lodge" 237). She continues her criticism, stating that it

was inevitable that George Cabot Lodge, like other young poets, should pass through the imitative stage of which his first three volumes give

occasional proof, and equally inevitable that the voices of Whitman and Swinburne should be those oftenest heard in them. ("Lodge" 237)

As Lewis has noted about Wharton, both she and Lodge felt great admiration for Whitman; many times he would be the focus of their private conversations. However, Wharton's comments that Whitman's voice inevitably could be heard in Lodge's poetry (as it was in the other young poets) seems to imply that there is nothing unique about Lodge's work. Perceptively, Wharton is basically saying that while Lodge's poetry was passing through the inevitable stage of apprenticeship--his work was never allowed to mature fully.

However, Wharton did find at least some of Lodge's later poetry interesting, especially one poem elegizing Stickney. Writing that "a sustained level of beauty is reached in 'Days,'" Wharton quotes one stanza that she particularly liked:

Still on his grave, relentless, one by one,
They fall, as fell the mystic, Sibyl line
Sad leaves, and still the Meaning's secret sign
Dies undeciphered with each dying sun. ("Lodge" 237)

Wharton thought these lines clearly represented "the problem that haunted Cabot Lodge," which was to "wrest from life the secret" of that enigmatic "Meaning" ("Lodge" 237). However, Wharton's subsequent commentary--"the inconsistency with which

his verse reverts to it [this "Meaning"] is saved from sameness only by the varied notes it wrung from him"--is just about as enigmatic as Lodge's "Meaning" ("Lodge" 237). Finally, in summarizing her thoughts about Lodge's literary career, Wharton almost strains to be balanced: "It is indeed a defect of some of his earlier verse that it deals too exclusively with general ideas expressed in abstract terms; but with the rounding of his nature he had grown more sensitive to the appeal of the visible world" ("Lodge" 238). As has been demonstrated previously, the abstractions in Lodge's early verse derived from his "commonplace" education. Because as a woman she would not have had a similar education, it seems unlikely that Wharton would have known the origin of Lodge's abstractions.⁵ Clearly, as her critical treatment of Lodge indicates, despite the fact that Wharton appreciated Lodge as a friend, much to her personal regret, she could not value his work nearly, although her criticism seems apt to Lodge's level of achievement. Therefore, as a way to compensate for her ambivalence, Wharton split her treatment of Lodge's life and work into the personal and impersonal.

To underscore Wharton's treatment of Lodge in this essay, Henry James wrote Wharton a letter describing his reactions to her article:

All thanks for the Scribner [article]. . . . It is most happily right & tender--& personal &

impersonal, enough--& with some of your quoted instances altogether fine & beautiful. It horribly renews my sense of the stupidity of his extinction. How much mightn't one have still been going to enjoy him! But one mustn't think.

(Powers 145)

Hence, James recognizes that Wharton's description of Lodge was both "personal" and "impersonal;" however, he qualifies the impersonal as being "enough" (impersonal enough to make it professionally balanced). Interestingly, whenever a friend needed comfort, James always seemed to know just the right words to write--"happily right" in this case. By happily right, James meant by this that Wharton had been able to express Lodge's personality exactly as she had always considered him. Because she had been experiencing a great deal of anxiety that she had offended the Lodges, James was having to reassure Wharton that she had gotten it right--that she had been honest, but inoffensive. Thus, her fear must have been that the impersonal part of her essay had proven too harsh. In his biography of Lodge, Crowley argues that Wharton "loved the man more than his verse, and her essay focused on the poetry only so far as it reflected him" (Lodge 116). However, although Crowley is correct in his assessment that Wharton valued the man over his poetry, she may not necessarily have thought that any of Lodge's poetry truly reflected him at all. Her whole reason for

separating the poetry from the man was that he never did find his true voice, which would have intrinsically married the man with his art. According to Wharton, Lodge's poetry would only have reflected the fact that he was still learning his trade when he abruptly died.

By the time Wharton wrote her own memoirs (about twenty-four years after her Scribner's article), she had decided to avoid commenting on Lodge's work. In fact, she dismisses his career by stating that other endeavors would have better served his talents. Even if Adams had wanted to avoid writing about Lodge's poetry (and he did not), he could not have anyway because the whole reason for the biography was to commemorate the publication of Lodge's poetry. No wonder, then, despite important similarities, noticeable differences do exist between Adams's and Wharton's biographical works. Basically, Adams had clearly attempted to unify the man with his work, whereas Wharton, just as clearly, had initially preferred to separate the two--and would eventually forget Lodge's poetry all together.

In his biography of Lodge, Adams makes a point of showing Lodge's feelings for Wharton's friendship. (Conversely, Wharton makes no mention of Adams's relationship with Lodge). Specifically, Adams quotes a letter from Lodge, dated January 1905, in which he had written that

Mrs. Wharton was really glad to see me, and I to see her, and we have had a good deal of the swift, lucid, elliptical conversation which is so perfect and so stimulating and so neatly defined in its range. . . . It is a great delight to be with her, as I am a good deal, and to be clear and orderly and correct in one's thought and speech, as far as one goes. It's good for one, and vastly agreeable besides,--indeed, it is to me a kind of gymnastic excitement, very stimulating. (Life 123)

The reason for Lodge's stay with Wharton was to help him through the death of his friend Stickney; a point which underscores the value of her friendship for Lodge. More importantly, however, is the "gymnastic" excitement Lodge remarks in their conversations. His feelings for their discussions are similar to the ones she expresses in her Scribner's essay; however, he is not trying to characterize her as a saint.

Recognizing that "no two persons ever quite agree on their ideals or illustrations," Adams, in a letter to Lodge's widow, dated 14 January 1910, commends Wharton's Scribner's essay (Letters VI 298). In this letter, Adams states that

Edith writes well--very well,--and never shocks our taste, either in expression or in thought. I

think Bay would have been pleased by her notice and her appreciation. I think, too, that he might have found as much difficulty in choosing from his own work what he thought best for illustration, as she has evidently felt. (Letters VI 298)

Adams obviously understands the differences between his literary intention and Wharton's. Adams's criticism was not being aimed at Lodge's poetry, but at the indifferent reading public. Wharton's obituary was a public occasion with a private purpose, and this situation directly shaped the way she wrote her essay.⁶ In her essay, almost totally unaware of any broader audience, Wharton's intended audience seemed only to have been Lodge's family. Unlike Adams, Wharton had no feud brewing with polite Bostonian society.

The fact that Adams quotes much of Wharton's Scribner's essay in the Life underscores the importance it had for everyone concerned. In the Life, Adams mentions the occasion of her addition to Lodge's circle of friends: "Edith Wharton, whose unerring taste and finished workmanship served as a corrective to his youthful passion for license. Her fine appreciation felt this quality as the most insistent mark of his nature" (Life 142). About her obituary statement, Adams comments that "[l]ife is not wholly thrown away on ideals, if only a single artist's touch catches like this the life and movement of a portrait. Such a picture needs no proof; it is itself convincing"

(Life 142). Ironically, Adams only quotes the part of Wharton's essay which praised the man--completely leaving out her criticism of Lodge's poetry. Since he had such a hand in developing Lodge's poetry, Adams also must have realized that criticism should remain his sole responsibility. Finally, Adams uses Lodge's friendship with Wharton to describe the young poet's essential problem; while

young Lodge, or any other young artist might find it the most natural thing in the world to give himself without thought or hesitation to another artist, like Mrs. Wharton, it by no means followed that he could give himself to men or women who had not her gifts, or standards, or sympathies. He could no more do this than he could write doggerel. (Life 145)

By contrasting the young man's private associations with his lack of public ones, Adams continues this description of Lodge's isolation. Adams writes:

However much he tried, and the more he tried, to lessen the gap between himself--his group of personal friends--and the public, the gap grew steadily wider; the circle of sympathies enlarged itself not at all, or with desperate slowness; and this consciousness of losing ground,--of failure to find a larger horizon of friendship beyond his

intimacy;--the growing fear that, beyond this narrow range, no friends existed in the immense void of society,--or could exist, in the form of society he had lived in,--the suffocating sense of talking and singing in a vacuum that allowed no echo to return, grew more and more oppressive with each effort to overcome it. (Life 145)

Adams has correctly assessed his own work: the image of this young, privileged artist trapped in a psychological quicksand does provide quite a shock. Moreover, a similar shock is not at all found in Wharton's essay.

Wilson clearly has to include Adams's Life in a book he called The Shock of Recognition--because Adams intentionally wrote a shocking book--it exactly fits the thesis that Wilson develops in his preface. However, Wilson misunderstands the whole source of the shock. In the foreword, Wilson explains the overall purpose of his book:

I have also departed from the program suggested by my title of showing only moments when genius becomes aware of its kin by including a few examples of the shock of recognition which occurs when the very good writer is confronted by the very bad. (viii)

The evidence does not show that Adams had ever been shocked by Lodge's poetry; as was demonstrated in the first chapter,

Adams had been reading the young man's work from the very beginning. In fact, Adams had been personally helping the young man improve his writing. Thus, without forcing an unreasonable interpretation on Adams's Life, the whole thesis of Wilson's book required a far too confrontational situation than was true between Adams and Lodge. Clearly, Wilson had never read Adams's correspondence with Lodge. As any shrewd critic would have done, whether or not he knew of Wharton's essay, Wilson used the evidence which best supported his thesis, even though that material forced an unwise interpretation. Wharton's style was never to shock, but Adams' felt that he had to shock to be understood, especially in his later work. However, despite the irreconcilable differences between their styles, Wharton's Scribner's essay provides a fairer comparison with Adams's biography than her sketch in A Backward Glance had been.

Because Adams was a friend of both Wharton and Lodge, he would have been in a good position to judge Wharton's essay. Adams's friendship with Wharton began seriously in the spring of 1908 (Lewis 224), although according to Samuels they had "occasionally crossed paths in the upper reaches of Anglo-American society from the time of their first acquaintance in the early 1890s" (Adams 405). Samuels also writes that in Edith Wharton Adams "found a match for his world-weary raillery, and he relished her irreverence, as when she teased him about his various 'wives'" (Adams

406). Lewis describes the primary venue of Wharton's and Adams's Parisian friendship:

Adams could invariably be found at 50 Avenue du Bois de Boulogne, a little street near the Etoile and an easy walk from the Palace des Etats-Unis.

It was the Paris home of Elizabeth Cameron, and Adams stayed there when Mrs. Cameron was off on one of her frequent travels, withdrawing himself and his books and belongings, upon her return, to another apartment farther along the avenue. (225)

Lewis also writes that Wharton, "who . . . found herself immensely drawn to [Adams], began to refer to Adams, like almost everyone else, as 'dear Uncle Henry'" (225). But, as did many of Adams's friends, Wharton "felt that Adams's profoundly skeptical mind and his inveterate sardonic and tired manner tended to drain life of its 'vital juice'" (Lewis 226). Yet, despite his pessimism, Wharton also "rejoiced in his piercing destructive wit and the sheer range of his knowledge, which alone in her Paris community greatly outmatched her own" (Lewis 226). Interestingly, however, Wharton fails even to mention Henry Adams in her memoir, although she mentions just about everyone else from her Parisian salon days. More than anything else, this slight underscores the selectivity of Wharton's memory at the advanced age when she wrote the book.⁷

One person whom she did not forget in her memoirs was Henry James. And as his reaction to her essay had been illustrative of her true feelings about Lodge's work and life, so had been his initial reaction to Lodge's death. Once again James proves to be an excellent sounding board. Describing Wharton's reaction to the death of Lodge, in a letter to James, dated 3 September 1909, Adams writes that

Mrs. Wharton, in spite of her feminine energy and interest, is harder hit, I think, than I by the loss of Bay Lodge, but she has, besides, a heavy anxiety to face in the uncertainties of her husband's condition. We are altogether a dilapidated social show, bric-a-brac or old-clo' shop, and I find smiling a rather mandarin amusement. Mrs. Wharton has told you about it, no doubt, but she will not have cared to dwell on it. My most immediate anxiety is Sturgis Bigelow, whose condition is very alarming to my shattered nervous system; but there are a dozen more such, in my close neighborhood, and Bay's catastrophe makes the solidest stars reel. (Letters VI 269-270)

This letter demonstrates that, at least while they were all in Paris, these Americans were a closely-knit group. Moreover, Lodge's death clearly was a devastating blow to a group of people who were not known for having a strong

nervous system. Characteristically, as her biography indicates, Wharton certainly would not have wanted to dwell on the death; hence, both of these friends had clearly known Wharton well. Although Adams has been greatly affected by this sad event, as a professional writer, he has managed to describe the details realistically; thus, this letter serves as a reliable source to understand the painful effect the young man's death had on his friends. In all his correspondence, James always seemed to be not only physically but emotionally at a distance; therefore, he could serve as a detached listener for his bereaved friends.

Besides Adams and Wharton, probably one of Lodge's most supportive friends had been Theodore Roosevelt. By writing the preface to the posthumously collected edition of Lodge's work, Roosevelt capped a lifelong patronage of Lodge. Crowley explains how Roosevelt first got involved with Lodge's literary career:

Senator Lodge proudly showed his son's fledgling efforts to Theodore Roosevelt. With his usual impetuosity, Roosevelt insisted on immediate publication and submitted a sonnet, with Lodge's consent, to Richard Watson Gilder of the Century. Gilder's rejection did not discourage Roosevelt from sponsoring Lodge's career elsewhere over the next few years. (Lodge 28)

When Henry Cabot Lodge began collecting Lodge's poems for the posthumous edition, Roosevelt readily agreed to write the introduction to the first volume, while Adams would write the biography, which was the third volume.

In his introduction, Roosevelt glows in his regard for Lodge. Roosevelt writes that

My intimate friendship with George Cabot Lodge lasted for a quarter of a century. It began when I first saw him, a handsome, striking-looking boy, of great promise, at Nahant in the Spring of 1884; it did not end when I saw him, on the 4th of March, 1909, at Washington, when he came through the blizzard to say good-bye. He was then in the still vigorously growing maturity of his powers, in the midst of a performance which more than made good his early promise and which was itself the promise of performance greater still.

(Introduction xiii)

The first attribute typically used to describe Lodge was that he was handsome, and Roosevelt's account is no different. The one interesting anecdote that Roosevelt does throw in here is that Lodge made his way in a blizzard just to see a friend.

Clearly demonstrating none of the restraint either Adams or Wharton had attempted in their memoirs, Roosevelt continues his preface: "Of all the men with whom I have

been intimately thrown he was the man to whom I would apply the rare name of genius" (Introduction xiii). Roosevelt seems to apply the name of genius rather generously. As his introduction indicates, Roosevelt's definition of genius fulfills the category of the Renaissance courtier, rather than the more modern assumption of the genius as a brilliant but enigmatic anomaly. Roosevelt continues:

He was an extraordinary student and scholar; he walked forever through the arch of the past experiences of all the great minds of the ages. Any language which he cared to study was his, and he studied every language which held anything he wished. I have never met another man with so thorough and intimate a knowledge of so many great literatures, nor another man who so revelled in enjoyment of the best that he read. (Introduction xiii)

Lodge was a lover of literature, but only to "gratify his wonderful love, his passion, for his high thought finely expressed" (Roosevelt xiv). According to Roosevelt, moreover, because Lodge was "really humble-minded in . . . eager simplicity" (xiv), he never would have tried to show off all his learning. "He was more than a book man," asserts Roosevelt. As an example of his multiplicity, Roosevelt writes that Lodge's

combination of idealism and bodily prowess made it inevitable that he should strain every nerve to get into the Spanish War. He came of fighting stock; his forefathers had fought in every great American War; kinfolk of his were to be in this one; and he simply could not stay out. He went into the Navy as an ensign and served as captain of a guncrew. He made an admirable officer, training his men with unwearied care, and handling them with cool readiness under fire. (xiii)

These assertions about Lodge's conduct in combat do not contradict Adams's biography at all, although the way Roosevelt frames this description is remarkably different. He argues that Lodge's decision to join the fray as being predestined by his genealogy. Interestingly, although in his biography Adams had argued that the fact the Lodge family had given birth to a poet was not a surprise, Roosevelt argues that it was more genealogically inevitable that Lodge had made a fine soldier instead. However, when Adams writes that Lodge had probably been better suited to be a soldier than a poet, he only makes that assumption based on Lodge's performance and not as the natural evolution of his family line.

Inevitably, as seems typical of the ego of those who would want to be President, Roosevelt finally had to get

around to ranking Lodge in the universe of poets and warriors:

He belonged to the gallant brotherhood of the men who have written and fought, the brotherhood whose foremost figures number, among many, many others, Cervantes at Lepanto, Sydney in the Low Countries, Koerner, the man of sword and song, in the war for German freedom. But here again what young Lodge did seemed to him so natural that, so far as his friends could tell, he never even thought of it afterwards. (Introduction xv)

Both in terms of military prowess and literary skill, Roosevelt indeed puts Lodge in good company. Thus, with this exaggerated claim, one can comprehend that the motive behind Roosevelt's introduction had all along been to make Lodge into a Renaissance man.

Although one key ingredient of the Renaissance man had been his literary accomplishments, when Roosevelt finally does get around to describing Lodge's poetry, he uses language so vague and abstract as to be meaningless. For example, he writes that Lodge's first volume of poetry demonstrated "extraordinary strength and originality, and an extraordinary wealth of thought," but unlike Adams and Wharton (in her Scribner's essay), Roosevelt does not offer any of Lodge's poetry as proof. Moreover, the one critical note that he does sound about Lodge's work is that at first

"the depth and wide play of [his] thought were obscured by the very brilliance of the way in which it was set forth" (Roosevelt Introduction xv-xvi). Roosevelt's assessment here is the complete opposite of both Adams's and Wharton's determination that in the beginning Lodge particularly lack the technical skills to convey his heady philosophy.

Roosevelt finishes his introduction by poetically eulogizing his lost friend. Despite their sentimentality, Roosevelt's words are nonetheless interesting because they come from a President who was well known for his manliness. Roosevelt writes:

In abounding vigor, his task well begun and stretching far ahead, his veins thrilling with eager desire, his eyes fronting the future with dauntless and confident hope, he stood on life's crest; and then death smote him, lamentable, untimely. (Introduction xvi)

Almost as a measure of how absurdly far critics have taken Wilson's assessment of Adams's biography is the fact that Crowley gives higher marks to Roosevelt's work than Adams's. In comparison to Roosevelt's exuberance, Crowley writes that "Adams undertook his biography with considerably less enthusiasm. . . . However, the major reason for Adams's uneasiness in writing The Life of Lodge was not family disagreement over its content, but what he perceived as the essential hypocrisy of the biography" (Lodge 117). As it

has been argued in the previous chapters, Adams not only was unconcerned about family pressure, but he also would not have been even aware of any hypocrisy in this endeavor. Adams had a job to do, and he wanted to get it done as quickly as possible.

As will be discussed in the next chapter, Adams certainly did experience ambivalence about writing a biography concerning his close friend. As is most often the case with genius, however, Adams transformed his initial ambivalence into art. But what is most interesting about Crowley's comments is the notion that Roosevelt did a better job with his memoirs. For example, Crowley writes that "Roosevelt lavishly praised Lodge's intelligence, scholarly accomplishments, and poetic aspirations. . . . Roosevelt depicted Lodge as a man standing on life's crest" (Lodge 117). Interestingly, Crowley fails to qualify any of Roosevelt' hyperbolic assertions. It seems Crowley ignores the notion that Roosevelt was one of the most unambiguous men of his time, and the most noticeable attribute that Roosevelt raises in his description of Lodge is worldly success (which is the exact opposite of Adams's portrait). According to Roosevelt's sensibilities, Lodge could only have been a conquering hero (and a one-dimensional figure). On the other hand, according to Adams's sensibilities, Lodge would become a spiritual hero (rich in ambiguity and literary significance).

Probably the best way to understand Roosevelt's attitude about Lodge is to read his correspondence with Henry Cabot Lodge about writing the introduction. In a letter to Roosevelt, dated 7 February 1911, Henry Cabot Lodge writes:

Henry Adams has written, as I think I told you, a really beautiful Memoir of Bay, which will make one small volume and which it is our purpose to publish with the collected edition of his poetry. To that collected edition, as you know, we want you to write an introduction or preface. You said you would be glad to do it with so much feeling and so much knowledge of what Bay was. The Memoir is all ready and the poems can be put in shape at almost any time, our plan being to bring them out together and pretty soon. . . . I suppose that you would write of him rather than make a critical survey of the poetry, although of course, you will necessarily touch on that; but Henry Adams has gone into all his work very fully indeed. (H. Lodge Correspondence 399)

Perhaps because Adams had written his memoir as a professional critic, Henry Cabot Lodge wanted Roosevelt's introduction to be full of feeling and intimacy (although the father had seemed to be very satisfied with Adams's work). As has already been discussed, Lodge's father would

have said otherwise to his friend if he thought so (the lack of tact had originally chilled their relationship).

Roosevelt thus responds to Henry Cabot Lodge's letter:

Here is the introduction. When I got down actually to writing it, it came out differently from the way I had intended to write it. If you and Nannie don't like it, destroy it at once. I was not able to get any other line of approach which was satisfactory to me. (H. Lodge

Correspondence 399-400)

Interestingly, Roosevelt expresses what seems to be conventional literary humility about what he had written, an expression similar to Adams's (both men do come from the same milieu). Although both men were trying to do their respective best to please the Lodge family, both men responded to the task according to their own (strong) personalities.

On 8 March 1911, after he had sent his preface to the Lodges, Roosevelt wrote the following in a letter:

You cannot imagine how glad I am that you and Nannie like the foreword. I have been very uneasy lest you should think that I ought to have gone into an analysis; and I am so very much pleased that what I did meets your approval. I just did not feel willing to make an ordinary analysis, the kind of piece that I would write if it were my

duty to review any stranger's poems; I wanted to write what I felt about the gallant boy, the gallant man whom I knew, the man of deep learning and vibrant sympathy. I am so pleased that you liked my bringing in about his riding, hunting, shooting and his cool efficiency in the Spanish War. Indeed, you cannot be more pleased with the foreword than I am with your letter about it, for I would not for anything have had you and Nannie feel that I had come short of what you desired.

(H. Lodge Correspondence 403)

As this letter indicates, Roosevelt wanted to emphasize Lodge's manly pursuits in the outdoors, whereas Adams does not mention them at all. Conversely, as he had stated in his introduction, Roosevelt only wanted to give passing reference to Lodge's bookish interests. Thus, he stresses Lodge's "riding, hunting, shooting." After reading the three-volume edition of Lodge's work (which included Adams's memoirs), Roosevelt wrote the following:

The memoirs and the poems have arrived safely. I am immensely struck by Bay's letters. What extraordinary letters they are! Moreover, going over the poems again, I am more than ever impressed with them. How young he was to leave such a mark! He has done the kind of work which it is always possible will last when pretty much

everything else that has been done here in America during his time will be forgotten; just as Theocritus is remembered when the very names of the great men of his day have for the most part crumbled to dust. (H. Lodge Correspondence 413)

Interestingly, Roosevelt considered the biography a selection of Lodge's letters (which to a great degree it was, but something Wilson does not mention in his introduction). Discounting for Roosevelt's natural impetuosity, he evidently admired Adams's selection of these letters as well (notice that there is no mentioning of Lodge having been transformed into a shadowy figure, as Wilson had claimed). By ranking him in the same league as Theocritus, Roosevelt is certainly straining to make Lodge an important writer for his period. These letters clearly underscore the hyperbolic mode Roosevelt had been using in his introduction.

Besides Crowley's biographical studies, the only other recent biography is in Hatch's 1973 The Lodges of Massachusetts. Although this book primarily concerns the political history of the Lodge family, Hatch does have an entire chapter curiously entitled, "George Cabot Lodge--An Interlude." Despite its reliance on Adams's text, Hatch's "interlude" presents Lodge as much more a free-spirit than any other biographer. For example, Hatch writes that "Bay was a hippie before his time--an angry young man in revolt

against the shams and injustices of a society which did not yet even realize such things existed" (85). Moreover, Hatch writes about Lodge and Bessie's unconventional wedding (for the times):

Plans were made for a wedding in September, 1900; presents began to arrive. Then Bay revolted against the whole social rigmarole which was so far outside his instincts and beliefs that it appeared almost a desecration of his love for Bessie. She agreed with him as always, so, on August 18, they quietly went off together and were married at the Church of the Advent in Boston, with no one but official witnesses present. (86) This anecdote paradoxically both supports and contradicts the personality of Lodge that was evidenced in the Lodge-Adams correspondence (which had been excluded from Adams's biography). As that correspondence had demonstrated, while Adams did think that the youthful Lodge acted far too socially unconventional, he never seemed to consider Bessie completely submissive to her husband's desires. In fact, Adams makes a strong case that she made him more acceptably conventional.

Thus, in the Life, Adams describes the couple's nuptials quite differently from Hatch. Adams writes:

The marriage took place in Boston, August 18, 1900. True to his instinct of shrinking from

close and serious contact with the forms and conventions of a society which was to him neither a close nor a serious relation, he was married without previous notice, and without other than the necessary witnesses, at the Church of Advent. The officiating clergyman is said to have remarked that he had never seem a more beautiful wedding; but he was the only person present to appreciate its beauty. (Life 99)

The language in Adams's description is far less colloquial (Adams would never use "rigmarole"). Obviously, Hatch is trying to describe the 1900's "hippie," using the laid-back language of the 1970's.

The point of this comparison is that when biographers shape the material of their subject's life, the residue of the biographer's own personality metaphorically sticks to the page.⁸ In the final analysis, not only were Wilson's arguments against Adams's biography unsubstantiated, his comments were also irrelevant in relation to the amount of critical damage they have done to Adams's last book. Quick to make Adams's memoirs neatly fit his thesis, Wilson did not thoroughly research his topic. That strong minds such as these had their own agendas (hidden or otherwise) is the one undeniable fact that emerges from a comparison of Adams's, Wharton's, and Roosevelt's biographical accounts of Lodge. That being the case, however, this does not mean

what they had to say was not illuminating. Truly, as Wilson argues about Adams's biography, each of the biographies in some way constructs a view of its subject. Thus, while it is difficult to deny that Adams's own personality did somewhat impose itself onto the pages of Lodge's biography, this imposition was, to a certain extent, inevitable, owing to the very nature of biographical writing. This imposition should not be construed automatically as a defect or as an avoidable distortion of Lodge the man or Lodge the writer.

Notes

¹A good example of this popularity is how in 1912 Wharton ended up receiving the Pulitzer Prize for The Age of Innocence. According to Lewis:

The jury (Robert Morse Lovett, Stuart Sherman, and a reluctant Hamlin Garland) had actually chosen another novel, Main Street by Sinclair Lewis, but the trustees of the university [Columbia University] rejected that recommendation on the grounds that Main Street had given offense in certain quarters and took it upon themselves to select The Age of Innocence. (Wharton 433)

The point of this anecdote is that New Yorkers would go out of their way to support other New Yorkers (even if the recipient would not necessarily like the circumstances of that support).

²In The Education, Adams's description of New York underscores the recognition of it as America's new cultural center:

The outline of the city became frantic in its effort to explain something that defies meaning. Power seemed to have outgrown its servitude and to have asserted its freedom. The cylinder had exploded, and thrown great masses of stone and steam against the sky. The city had the air and movement of hysteria, and the citizens were crying, in every accent of anger and alarm, that the new forces must at any cost be brought under control. Prosperity never before imagined, power never yet wielded by man, speed never reached by anything but a meteor, had made the world irritable, nervous, querulous, unreasonable and afraid. All New York was demanding new men. (499)

³Lewis's own opinion of Adams's biography of Lodge is interesting. In the "Major Sources and Acknowledgement" section of Wharton's biography, Lewis writes:

Henry Adams's Life of George Cabot Lodge (1911) has been superseded--biographically if not stylistically--by John N. Crowley's unpublished biography, to which I am much indebted. (560)

With all due respect to Crowley's unpublished biography (a version of it has been published in the Twayne series),

Adams still has the reputation of being one of America's most significant stylist. Lewis seems to have reacted to Adams's work in the same vein as Wilson.

'In Leon Edel's biography of Henry James, he writes about a situation between Wharton and James where he may have puffed her work. Wharton's reaction to this possibility was quite negative.

⁵According to Ong in "Latin Language Study as a Renaissance Puberty Rite:"

[s]eeing Renaissance Latin teaching in the psychological framework of the puberty rite helps us to explain much in the later trajectory of Latin teaching. In the nineteenth century, when Latin was on its way out as the core subject of the curriculum, educators produced the theory that Latin "strengthened" or "toughened" the mind.

Translated, this means the feeling that a boy's education was basically a puberty rite, a process preparing him for adult life by communicating to him the heritage of a past. . . . This association of Latin with a toughening marginal environment of a puberty-rite type was sufficient to keep Latin in its place as the basic discipline forming prep school character, with its twin emphasis on Latin and physical hardihood

(modulated eventually into good sportsmanship).
(Rhetoric 140).

Because Wharton was an upper-class female she did not get to enjoy such an education as Ong describes here. According to her biography, between her mother feeling "required to control her daughter's reading" and then taking the "easy path of forbidding her to read any new fiction at all" (Lewis 29) and her father's indifference, Wharton's self-education in the family library was at best sporadic. Clearly, Wharton never had to experience the pains of learning Latin as Adams and Lodge had to do in their prep schools.

"In "The Writer's Audience Is Always a Fiction," Walter Ong describes the psychology of a writer in relation to their readers. Ong writes that if

the writer succeeds in writing, it is generally because he can fictionalize in his imagination an audience he has learned to know not from daily life but from earlier writers who were fictionalizing in their imagination audiences they had learned to know in still earlier writers, and so on back to the dawn of written narrative. If and when he becomes truly adept, an "original writer," he can do more than project the earlier audience, he can alter it. (Interfaces 60)

As Lewis has noted, one of Wharton's greatest attributes was that she could take significant experiences in her life and turn them into literature. In this case, she took the death of her close friend and wrote a moving prose elegy to comfort his family. Having the essay published only added to its sense of occasion. Ong argues that the primary purpose of a writer fictionalizing an audience is that he must "construct in his imagination, clearly or vaguely, an audience cast in some sort of role--entertainment seekers, reflective sharers of experience" (Interfaces 61). Thus, Wharton both knew and imagined her audience.

⁷Another example of her selectivity is that she also does not mention the divorce from her husband, Teddy. On the other hand, Adams does not mention the death of his wife in The Education either. The point is that exclusion often means mindfulness rather than forgetfulness.

⁸Leon Edel's article, "Transference: The Biographer's Dilemma," offers an interesting discussion of the most serious problem of the author getting too close to the subject. In this article, Edel writes that an artist in biography is present in his work in the same way that a painter is present in his portraits. We speak of Boswell as we speak of Titian or Rembrandt. The names of their subjects have sunk into the label under the portraits frames. The portrait acquires supremacy: the

painter looks at a face, a garb, a posture, body movement or repose or some moment of intensity

Freud was defining the biographer's role as observer-participant. . . . The participant must be sympathetic rather than empathic.

"Transference" must be avoided, that is the danger of a destructive emotional involvement. (284)

Thus, Adams is not at all guilty of transference. Edel continues his article by offering the following:

Few biographers can escape the forms of transference, least of all the "idealization" But deeper forms may be seen, those in which the entire biographical pursuit of certain writers became a drive to complete themselves in their works. If we accept this, and recognize the fundamental truth Freud enunciated--and the fundamental warning--we recognize that every biographer needs at the very start to question carefully choice and motive, the nature of feeling and identification. (290)

Adams tackled head-on the problem with his emotional involvement.

4. The Last of the "Lord's Rememberancers" [sic]

Having already outlived many of his family and friends, Adams wrote the Life at a time when he was psychologically and physically enduring the end of a full yet tragic life himself. Levenson writes about Adams's difficulties:

In the struggle against ennui and an overburdened consciousness of death and disaster, his best weapon remained the habit of work: though large tasks were beyond his now diminished powers, he nevertheless was able to write an important postscript to the Education, "The Rule of Phase Applied to History," and he completed two minor works which reflected his scientific and artistic centers of interest. His "Letter to American Teachers of History," which he sent out in 1910, and his memoir of the poet George Cabot Lodge, published in the following year, reveal an intellectual vigor which counts as a falling off only because we have the two late masterpieces as a standard of measure. (352)

As Levenson argues, if any other, less-talented writer had written the Life, the book would have been considered an important achievement. Ironically, because the Life somewhat pales in comparison to The Education, the biography has remained egregiously neglected. Levenson is undeniably correct in arguing that Adams great intellectual powers had diminished, so instead of trying merely to repeat what he had accomplished in his two great masterpieces, Adams simply altered his approach.

Because until now there have remained so many unresolved questions about this biography, a full explanation of the book's form remains necessary. This last chapter covers how Adams transformed the biography into a book rich in complexity, despite having to write about a life that had been limited by tragic circumstances. Without a doubt, moreover, writing the Lodge biography must have been a difficult task for Adams, considering how close he had been to the young man, both emotionally and intellectually--the ever-scrupulous Adams primarily wanted to avoid a sentimental memoir.

Both in terms of his weakened emotional condition and his feelings for Lodge, Adams clearly recognized his limitations and heroically tried to make the best of the situation. On 29 July 1910, writing about his biography in a letter to Lodge's widow, Adams states, "I can only hope that, underneath the outside form of expression, the

intensity of feeling will be unconsciously there, so as to affect the average idiot without his knowing it" (Letters VI 352). This difficulty, therefore, was resolved by organizing the materials of Lodge's life into a form which not only conveyed Adams's message but focused and controlled "his intensity of feeling."

Also, instead of moving back to the great literary and artistic themes and motifs of the middle ages (for example, the stained glass in Chartres Cathedral), Adams in the Life seems to have transformed his natural autobiographical inclination into another literary form--popular in seventeenth-century New England--the spiritual biography. Thus, Adams not only found the perfect form to gather in his self-professed intensity of feeling, but continued his rediscovery of the forms and themes of Puritan literature. For example, the uncanny similarities between Cotton Mather's "The Life and Death of Nathaniel Mather" in Magnalia Christi Americana and the Life demonstrate how in his later works Adams modified Puritan genres to fulfill his goal.

Although critical opinion varies on whether Adams had been close to Lodge, the evidence in this dissertation has conclusively shown that he had been. One must therefore take Adams's expression of sorrow at the passing of Lodge as genuine. Thus, with Adams's self-described intensity of feeling in mind, Crowley argues that

Adams saw in Lodge an image of himself as artist, a self capable of turning chaos to cosmos, ignorance to truth, force to the freedom of articulate laws. Thus Lodge's sudden death not only shattered Adams's future hope, but seemed to forebode his own extinction. (Lodge 195)

If the notion is true that Adams could have been this close to the subject of his book (the only other subject closer would have been himself in his autobiography), then this relationship suggests some very interesting aspects of Adams's craft and mind never before considered. Other critics have argued that Lodge's sensibilities were completely antithetical to Adams's (Lyon 160); thus, the older man would not have responded so radically to the younger man's death. Once again, Lyon seems to ignore completely the biographical facts of the situation, whereas Crowley seems to ignore textual ones. Adams certainly sensed that he was close to his topic and that he needed a form which would restrain his emotions; therefore, the usual autobiographical memoir would not work in this case. As Levenson argues, this situation was coupled with the fact that Adams also felt that his usual intellectual vigor was beginning to dissipate--his imagination would not help him out of this literary situation as it had before. Thus, because spiritual biography is similar to the spiritual

autobiographical mode he used in The Education, the form suggested itself out of necessity.

According to Adams's biography, because Lodge did not sell out for material gain, he had remained spiritually sound and artistically pure; thus, Lodge had not ultimately failed in his poetic mission. Many critics have failed to recognize that Adams and Lodge both emphasized spiritual values above all others: thus the Life has remained misinterpreted. For example, Crowley consistently argues that Adams had concluded that his own artistic career was a failure. More importantly, Crowley argues, because Adams was not able "to portray Lodge as he was, Adams transformed him into a persona of the type bourgeois-bostoni[a]n and depersonalized Lodge's life into a metaphor of his own artistic defeat" (Introduction xi). Hence, Crowley argues that Adams wrote the Life out of a complete sense of bitterness for his own condition, but the facts just do not justify this extreme argument (as this dissertation has shown, both Lodge and Adams viewed their "failure" as a sign of their integrity).

As some critics have argued, Adams may very well have not been concerned about Lodge's poetry, except as an artifact representing the Brahmin milieu. Because culture for Adams had become so degraded, he naturally assumed that any serious poet would have led to reach a large audience. Hence, Lodge's material failure as a poet (in not

finding a large audience) would not have been a personal failure, but a social one--since Adams thought that Lodge's poetry had been on the philosophically sound. Hotchfield writes that for

Lodge in Boston, . . . the strain proved well-nigh fatal. Adams does not hesitate to attribute Lodge's early death in part to the terrible effort that went into sustaining his poetic vitality, an effort made all the more intense by the hopelessness which attended its failure to elicit a response. (142)

Thus, Lodge represented "that type of bourgeois-bostonian in which Adams had placed all of them, W. W. Story, Henry James, and himself, introspective, deracinated, 'improvised Europeans'" (Samuels Major 500). Moreover, they were improvised Europeans out of necessity and not by choice. Since Lodge was also so closely associated with this group of intimates, Adams's writing of the biography would of necessity have been as much a studied act of self-definition as was his writing of The Education and Mont-Saint Michel and Chartres.

In this situation, the lines between autobiography and biography can easily become blurred. Hence, by using a form of biography that harkened back to a time in New England history when the best minds also articulated a passionate spirituality as well, Adams makes his point about the

present condition of society through contrast. As he had in his autobiography, Adams could contrast the more spiritually unified past with the more complex and degraded present. Essentially, Lodge represented the remnants of a dying breed of New Englander, who had celebrated the spirituality of man over everything else and had possessed a more unified sensibility than contemporary man. Unlike the old Puritan cultural ideal, which valued both material and spiritual success, Lodge lived in a society that exclusively valued the material. Therefore, as a representative spiritual figure, out of step with the contemporary, Lodge was destined for worldly failure and alienation. The beauty of this form, therefore, is that it unified Adams's philosophical concerns with his personal feelings for Lodge.

As an ironically depersonalized biography, Adams's book, thus, fits easily into the old New England tradition of spiritual biographies (especially since critical opinion agrees that the Lodge depicted in the Life represents a figurative as well as a "real" man). Although Cotton Mather made this genre famous in New England, the spiritual biography has been a staple in American literature since the Puritans first colonized, and the residual form of this biography seemed to be still in existence in nineteenth-century Boston. In "The Life and Death of Mr. Nathaniel Mather," Mather begins the biography thus:

I write the life and death of a young man, whose ornaments will awaken in the reader an enquiry like that which the achievements of David produced concerning him, "Whose son is this youth?"

To anticipate that enquiry:

Nathaniel Mather had for his grandfathers two of New England's fathers, the famous Richard Mather, and the not less famous John Cotton; whose names have been in the church of God, as an "ointment poured forth," and whose lives bear no little figure in the ecclesiastical histories of our English Israel. His parents being yet living, it's too soon to give them their character, yet I may venture to say, it's no disgrace unto him, in the opinion of men that love learning and virtue, that he was the son of Increase Mather, the well-known teacher of a church in Boston, and rector of Harvard-College in New England. . . .

Our Nathaniel was born on July 6th, 1669, which I find him recording in his diary, when he was fourteen years old. . . . (Magnalia 156-157)

Bercovitch notes that the biography of Nathaniel Mather begins "with a disquisition" on the biblical importance of genealogy. Bercovitch argues that an "idealized harmony between the generations forms the real subject of the fourth book" of the Magnalia; this "Life" was just one of ten

biographies in this book ("Epic" 345). Bercovitch continues his analysis by stating that the "biographies of all the ten 'exemplary' Harvard graduates abound in allusions to biblical filiopietism and assert . . . the undisturbed succession from father to son" ("Epic" 346). As is discussed in the second chapter, Adams also begins his biography by describing the genealogy of Lodge, in which, as Crowley notes, Adams gives biblical implications to the "disquisition" as well. In the New England tradition, the family has always been more important than the individual. However, according to Adams's pessimistic view of the future, the family tree has been cut off with the death of Lodge; Adams never specifically mentions Lodge's two sons--Henry Cabot, Jr., and John Davis--whose births ordinarily would have been noteworthy. The undisturbed succession ends with George Cabot Lodge.

Interestingly, Adams was not the only important writer in his time to use a variation of the spiritual biography. For example, Henry James's biography of Charles William Eliot begins much like Adams's Life and Mather's biography of Nathaniel--James also submerges the identity of the individual into genealogy. Once again, as Mather's biography of his brother, Adams's Life, and James' Eliot would suggest, the New England way to begin a biography was to start a description of the family stock. Thus, James writes that

Charles W. Eliot was a great believer in "stocks," and thought that families whose men and women he had known and watched through four generations supplied him with confirmation of his faith. He described his own ancestry as "a line of Boston Eliots who for several generations had been serviceable and influential people, and on maternal side, a line of Lymans who in three successive generations . . . had been useful and successful in life." (1:3)

The success of both families is the major theme in this paragraph: in the old Puritan tradition, success meant that God was bestowing his blessings on righteous people. Thus, even descendants, generations removed from the original Puritan settlers, still seemed to feel a residual regard for the experience of God's grace. In Puritan society, however, material success was directly linked to spirituality as well.

In The Puritans, Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson argue that for the Puritans the "ways of grace were manifold and no two men ever underwent the crisis [of the spirit] in a perfectly similar fashion" (Miller 461). In the pattern of the conversion story, the biography would climax with the spiritual crisis: the moment when God enters man's heart. Therefore, as Miller and Johnson point out, the "art of biography as understood by the Puritans was the preparation

of case histories" (461). To prove that he was of the elect, thus, the individual first had to articulate his conversion. Miller and Johnson continue their analysis:

[a]ccounts of individuals' own lives, or of the lives of great men and conspicuous saints, were not to be descriptions of their appearances of the clothes they wore or of what they ate for breakfast, but of the works of grace in their hearts and the exemplifications of the spirit in their conduct. (461)

Thus, as was the situation in Adams's biography of Lodge, to emphasize one's spiritual dimension, the Puritan biographer also depersonalized their subjects as well. No other description of Adams's Life could be more appropriate than that Adams was more concerned about the grace in Lodge's heart than in the details of his life.¹ Thus, the philosophy behind Adams's and Lodge's Conservative Christian Anarchism, which ultimately held spiritual self-recognition as paramount, seems deeply rooted in their Puritan heritage.

Miller and Johnson also see Adams specifically working out of a Puritan tradition, especially in The Education:

Henry Adams, dissecting his career in the search for "education," is writing in the true New England tradition, and undertakes what no more than countless Puritans had done when they submitted their lives to microscopic examination

to discover if they had at any time found that vision of unity and meaning of the universe which they called regeneration and for which he endeavored to substitute a dynamic theory of history. (461)

The preoccupation with subjectivity that permeated Puritan intellectual life clearly had been passed on to Adams. Adams not only turned the microscope on himself, but as in the case of his Life, submitted his young friend for scrutiny as well. A main reason that The Education and the Life have similarities (such as both protagonists being alienated from their culture) is that obviously the same inner vision, born out of a Puritan tradition, created these two texts for identical purposes--to both justify and criticize the ways of the elect in nineteenth-century Boston. Except for Adams and Lodge, the elect (Boston's polite society) had turned away from righteousness and had become sinners in the hands of the gold bug. Thus, within the Puritan tradition, because both were more concerned with the internal self rather than the external, since--as Miller and Johnson have argued--physical bodies were basically interchangeable, very little difference between autobiography and biography essentially exists. The spirit of the man is all that ever mattered, and Adams basically did not alter that notion in either text. Along these

lines, Hotchfield explains that in the Life, Adams aesthetically gave all

the best of himself--his Puritan integrity, his love of clear, rational form, his power to conceive of life as a disciplined effort to realize impersonal goals--all these, which he had never stopped thinking of as somehow intended for a life of power, had gone into his books as the stuff of art. (144)

Yet for all of his successes, Hotchfield argues that the ever-pessimistic Adams never seemed to realize the impact his literary powers would eventually have, as his trademark self-deprecation demonstrated.

In "Spiritual biography and the 'Lords Rememberancers,'" Seclia Tichi explains the Puritan origins of the New England biographical genre that had influenced Adams. She writes that

whatever the sequence of influences leading to the Puritans' tribal self-identification, their concept of society, their pattern of settlement, and their interpretation of Scripture all coalesce to make them a self-professed tribe from the very beginning. (58)

Ironically, as history has shown, the Puritan's strenuous attempt to maintain the tribe paradoxically aided in eventually breaking them apart. Thus, as Adams's

pessimistic attitude toward his culture indicates, the Puritans became so obsessed with looking for signs of the destruction of the culture, that they passed that obsession on to subsequent generations.

For example, in such works as The Education and "Letter to American Teachers of History," much of Adams's cultural complaint had arguably taken the form of the jeremiad--a warning that was directed at the Bostonian elect (tribe) who had gone astray. Underscoring Tichi's point is that Lodge had joined with Adams in writing about "tribal identification" and the need for their tribe to reform. Sacvan Bercovitch, in The American Jeremiad, writes that perhaps

the work that best illustrates the continuity of [the jeremiad] genre is The Education of Henry Adams. At first glance, to be sure, Adams gives the opposite impression. He deals incisively with historical factors and seems to berate himself with an unrelenting masochistic tough-mindedness for his inability to adjust. In fact, however, he makes it clear that the problem lies not with himself but with reality. He insists on personal failure in order to demonstrate the failure of everything else. . . . Adams offers his futile education as a metaphor without "absolute standards." (194)

Bercovitch continues his analysis by writing that "what lends special poignancy to his bewilderment . . . is 'the word *America*.' In this context, his impassioned lament for the country's desecrated hopes almost becomes like Mather's *Magnalia*, a massive, defiant vindication of his forebears' achievement" (*Jeremiad* 194). Thus, as has been demonstrated in chapter two, because the Life is so much of a thematic extension of The Education, this analysis clearly applies to this biography as well.

According to Bercovitch, Adams's strategy in The Education is the reverse of Cotton Mather's in the *Magnalia* (*Jeremiad* 195). In his inability to keep up with society, Adams disingenuously presents the protagonists as a failure; whereas Mather straight-forwardly presented society as having failed the individual. Therefore, because the strategy of the Lodge biography closely resembles that of Mather's biography, the jeremiad form may even apply more directly to the Life than it does to The Education. Despite these strategic differences, however, because both books essentially fulfill the same purpose--to demonstrate that modern culture was falling apart--Bercovitch's analysis about The Education equally apply to the Life. Bercovitch continues his analysis, writing that

Adams is not a . . . sage calling halt to a rampant industrial capitalism. He is a prophet reading the fate of humanity, and the universe at

large, in the tragic course of American history The protagonist of The Education, we learn in the Preface, is not an "Ego" but a "manikin." He is a . . . symbol, that is, standing for the great "inheritance with which took his name," for the "pure new England stock" which had nourished the Adams dynasty, for the whole configuration of "ideal values" embodied in the Constitution (including those of the Puritan emigrants). (Jeremiad 196)

Both Adams and Lodge could directly trace their lineage back to the political and spiritual origins of America. Although one could completely substitute Lodge for Adams in this analysis, since Lodge had not seemed as interested in politics as Adams had always been, the particular New England stock Lodge would best exemplify is the Puritan. Therefore, according to Adams's portrayal, Lodge's inheritance had been more spiritual than political.

In Errand in the Wilderness, Perry Miller also argues that Adams's vision of the future, articulated in his theoretical degradation of history, came from a feeling that America's original errand into the wilderness was coming to an end.² Therefore, by presenting Lodge's alienated condition in the Life, Adams demonstrates the current state of the wilderness: "Man [had] bec[o]me an outrage,--society an artificial device for the distortion of truth,--

civilization, a wrong. . . . Commonly the poet dies young" (Life 12-13). Paradoxically, civilization had transmogrified into an wilderness--the city on the hill had become a vanquished ideal and an embodiment of evil itself.

The premature death of the poet is a by-product of such a spiritually-degraded culture. Hence, as Adams describes the situation in Boston, "the gap between the poet and the citizen was so wide as to be impassable" (Adams Life 16), and intensifying the problem for Adams was his conception of the poet as being a spiritual individual (or a philosophical diviner of the universe). Thus, Adams sees the problem in what had become of Boston: "Ever since the youth of R. W. Emerson, the sense of poetry had weakened like the sense of religion" (Life 7). Therefore, the death (and unappreciated life) of Lodge represented the spiritual death of the Boston community and as such, the final remnants of Puritan spirituality itself.

Tichi's discussion of the spiritual biography, hence, further underscores much of what Adams had attempted to accomplish in his biography:

the Puritan historians wrote narratives of a New England tribe organically unified and spiritually journeying in an atmosphere of frequent indifference and hostility. In so doing, and evidently unknown to them, they were heavily influenced by a Puritan literary genre developed

in England and carried on in the New World. That is, in writing their histories they expanded the spiritual biography to include not only the individual but the tribal society. (19)

Clearly, much of the frustration in Lodge's life had come from the almost "hostile" indifference of his fellow Bostonians. According to Adams, the real tragedy of Lodge's life was not necessarily his early death, but that society had never encouraged him while he was alive. Ironically, Adams's lament was very similar to Mather's about his own treatment from society; Bercovitch writes that

in the Magnalia itself, he [Mather] turns at times to the actual world--generally in epilogues and appendixes--only to reject it for the world of his creation. These insertions (which form a very small part of the work) all too clearly reveal that the second generation was backsliding into worldliness; that the enemies of the Mather dynasty stood in control of Harvard College; that, in sum, New England had irrevocably abandoned the founders' principles. ("Epic" 342)

An interesting similarity between the Puritan and late nineteenth-century Boston, therefore, was that this community had always ignored their own sons--Boston evidently began losing all sense of being a tribal (Christian) society as soon as the first group landed in New

England. One could easily conclude that the total acceptance of the artist by the community had always been an unrealistic expectation--but an expectation which nonetheless generated tremendous anxiety for generations to come.

For example, again echoing a primary theme he articulates in "A Letter to American Teachers of History," Adams specifically writes about the spiritual degradation of his people:

The Bostonian of 1900 differed from his parents and grandparents of 1850, in owning nothing of value of which, in the market, could be affected by the poet. Indeed, to him, the poet's pose of hostility to actual conditions of society was itself mercantile,--a form of drama,--a thing to sell, rather than a serious revolt. . . .

Indeed, the most fatal part of the situation for the poet in revolt, the paralyzing drug that made him helpless, was that society no longer seemed sincerely to believe in itself or anything else; it resented nothing, not even praise. (Life 17)

According to Adams, one did not need to go back 250 years to notice the change, but only fifty years. About the spiritual death of the Bostonian poet, Crowley writes that

by "domesticating him, Boston had debilitated the poet and degraded art into merchandise" (Lodge 124).

Adams's most obvious disappointment in his community was that he felt Boston, in only fifty short years, had squandered both the intellectual and spiritual inheritance originating from the Puritans. In Literature and Theology in Colonial New England, Kenneth Murdock cites an example of what Adams could have been lamenting:

In the seventy years they [the Puritans] made Boston second only to London in the English-speaking world as a center for the publishing and marketing of books, and they produced a body of writing greater in quantity and quality than that of any other colonial community in modern history.

(31)

Remember that by Adams's time, he could count only 500 people who read serious poetry. Obviously, with this decline in the reading public, Adams had a point that the degradation of his community was accelerating; even with this evidence of a vibrant Puritan literacy, Mather would have argued that New England in his day was also declining.

Although strict Puritanism had waned long before Adams's time, the anxiety about the degradation of society obviously had not. Murdock explains how biography historically became an essential form of writing in Puritan culture:

As the seventeenth century advanced pious biographers realized, just as historians did, that the New Englanders' pristine religious ardor was waning. . . . If anything could touch them [the new generation of Puritans], biography might, with its reminders of how the faithful had been rewarded and its implies threats of the punishments in store for the faithless. (128)

According to Adams, by the 1900s society had degraded to the point degree where the "fallen" were rewarded and the "faithful" punished--material success had totally become disconnected from spirituality. With the world so turned upside down, a pious follower such as Lodge could only have been destined for an early grave. According to Adams's portrait of Lodge, the intrinsic gifts (a sense of irony and patience) would be the only lasting rewards he could receive as a poet--while the rest of his society would be basking in material wealth, self-satisfied.

Even if Adams had not actually read much of these Puritan spiritual biographies (he certainly had read Mather), he had read the source which had been the Puritan's original influence--Augustine's Confessions. Tichi argues that "long before Mather's birth and preceding the migration of the Bradford and Winthrop parties, English Puritans came to espouse a quite different biographical model, that of Augustine's Confessions" (61). Tichi goes on to explain

that the "Church father's purpose was not to record dramatic deeds, but to 'show his spiritual evolution, the coming-into-being of his full personality'" (60). In his biography of Adams, Samuels writes that

Adams had felt a kinship with the great Church father who also had had cravings for worldly success and who learned at last to despise it. The Puritan self-contempt and the low regard for the "insect" man, as Adams liked to write, found confirmation in Augustine's horror at the depravity of humankind. Adams had read Augustine's denunciations with an appreciative pencil in hand. Again and again a poignant recollection demanded a recognitory mark. Ancient Hippo on the African shore might have been . . . Boston in the way it tamed a boy's spirit. (386)

By stating that "[l]iving in a time of great crisis in the Roman world, feeling the shock of Alaric's sack of Rome, Augustine dramatized his disenchantment and revulsion in the very spirit of Adams's own *fin de siecle*," Samuels continues this comparison of Augustine with Adams (Adams 386). Interestingly, Adams had also been including himself in the group who needed to reform, to experience "self-chastisement." In ways that are important to understanding the unconscious tension that Adams's had described about this book, these Puritan principles of biography clearly

apply to Adams's Life. Thus, for Adams, the biography truly became a process of self-definition and self-chastisement.

In his description of the Puritan biographies, Murdock explains that from "the Puritan standpoint, biography should be shaped by a theological principle in which divine election, vocation, justification, and finally, salvation were crucial aspects of the dynamic operation of God's plan" (119). Although Lodge's "election" into the community was not necessarily divine, Adams clearly attempts to show it as almost predestined: Lodge's birth is not a matter of individuality as much as an inevitable place on the genealogical chart. While Lodge's call to vocation likewise is expressed as an inevitable event, this calling would prove difficult to fulfill because of society's condition.

Thus, just as the Puritan's spiritual vocation proved to be difficult in the wilderness, so would Lodge's decision to become a poet in the modern world (the modern wilderness or wasteland). Interestingly, in The Literary Vocation of Henry Adams, Mary Decker describes Adams's own decision to become a writer and the problems that ensued. She writes that

I treat the education as at once the autobiography of Adams's literary vocation and that vocation's valedictory enactment. I define that vocation as one that compelled Adams to retain as his chief object the political and spiritual redemption of

his American readership, even as the increasingly problematic nature of writing and publishing--the primary activities of authorship--complicated any simple, pragmatic intentionality that Adams might bring to his text. (5)

As evidenced by the fact both Adams and Lodge had made no secret of their disdain for the condition of modern culture, they implicitly understood that the role of poet would be arduous--because the task meant telling one's audience what they did not want to hear. Thus, both to Lodge and Adams, the text was not a way to make a living, but a redemptive force--just as their Puritan forefathers had believed. As Adams had written the biography to justify the ways of Lodge and himself, Lodge had also written out of a need for self-justification. Philosophically, Adam's and Lodge's Conservative Christian Anarchism had been a way to justify the righteous rebel. Thus, as described by Adams, the whole motive of Lodge's Cain was to justify what was seemingly an unjustifiable action--the murder of a brother. Finally, as Lodge himself had argued, because the "Will" is freed, the act of self-definition will lead to salvation.

Although some critics have argued otherwise, Adams truly wanted to write a biography that would both raise Lodge's reputation and chasten his society at the same time. Similarly, as Murdock writes about his Puritan legacy, the

allegiance to theological concepts did not, however, require sterile formality, cold rule, or a lifeless pattern. Whatever else the Puritan biographer may have been, he was almost always emotionally concerned with his task and wrote not merely because it was a correct or useful thing to do, because he genuinely and passionately admired his subject. (119)

As if to illustrate his own despair about the fate of his faithful friend, Adams description of Lodge's death is ironically elliptical: "then the heart suddenly failed and the end came" (which is quite like the last lines of Dickinson's "I Heard a Fly Buzz"). Emotionally unable to continue his memoir, Adams just stopped writing: the failure of Lodge's heart has metaphoric implications in that the rest is just silence. In other parts of the Life, Adams also clearly demonstrated his passionate admiration for Lodge. Adams quotes Sir Cecil Spring-Rice about Lodge:

"I think he was the sort of stuff that in the middle ages would have made a great saint or a great heresiarch--I dare say we have no use for such people now; I wonder if he found he was born out of his time, and that ours was not a world for him. I am not thinking of what he wrote or what he said, but of the atmosphere of his own soul--

what his thoughts lived and moved in." (Life 148-149)

As this evidence shows, the only important aspect of the man to convey is his spiritual identity.³ Thus, Adams clearly asserts that the purpose of his biography was to ignore the world and describe Lodge as a spiritual man. In disparaging Adams's treatment of Lodge, critics have obviously overlooked this passage (although Adams did not actually write these words, he selected the letter to emphasize Lodge's spirituality). If Lodge appeared as a shadowy figure to Wilson, then ironically Adams had truly managed to convey his purpose.

Because he had been so intent on making the biography fit his thesis, Wilson did not recognize that Adams was writing a spiritual biography. In fact, arguing that Adams had lacked a compelling faith, Wilson even failed to see Adams as a spiritual extension of his Puritan forebears, which Murdock does by tracing the influence of the Puritan biographers into the nineteenth century and directly to Adams. Thus, Murdock argues that a

similar line of influence may be traced from the Puritan's interest in biography written with an emphasis on the portrayal of character rather than mere events. They accented the "inner life" and in so doing helped to develop and popularize new techniques for analyzing and depicting character.

It is reasonable to suppose that American biography since colonial days has matured more rapidly than it could have if the Puritan colonists and their sympathizers abroad had not written 'ives with zeal and skill. Certainly in another kind of "personal literature" New Englanders have followed in the footsteps of the founding fathers. The habit of writing diaries and autobiographies persisted for generations in New England, and no doubt still persists. What is The Education of Henry Adams essentially but a somewhat more sophisticated and somewhat less frank variant of the analysis which the Puritans practiced in his diary or autobiography? (184-185)

And what is the Life but a variant of The Education and therefore, another variation of the Puritan literary tradition?

The Life as a variant of the spiritual biography also clears up the controversy about Adams wanting to keep his name off the book's title sheet. In his introduction, Crowley argues that, because Adams had been so unhappy with the book, he wanted nothing to do with the finished product. As proof of Adams's unhappiness, Crowley cites a letter to Elizabeth Cameron, dated 7 February 1911:

So Cabot came to dinner last night to talk about Bay's publication, and of course I was beautiful and approved everything, and said that I agreed with everybody, which I always do because nobody cares. Sometimes I do it once too much, as in the case of John Hay's Letters. Bay's will be another case of the same sort, but not so lurid. If they will only let me keep my name off it!

My real occupation is in reprinting secretly my Chartres. (Letters 1938 560-561)

What Crowley ignores in this letter is that not only did Adams want to keep his name off this book, but he also wanted his name off the Chartres book as well--a book he calls his "real occupation" (as in vocation). Especially note that Adams wanted Chartres to be reprinted "secretly." Thus, because wanting to keep his name off the book had nothing to do with Adams's feelings about it, Crowley has once again misread Adams's intentions, leading again to a significant misinterpretation of the biography.

Moreover, Crowley compounds this offense by misinterpreting another letter that Adams wrote to Elizabeth Cameron on 16 April 1911. Here Adams writes that

Bay's Life is now all in type, and out of my hands. I've made no special secret of my views about it, but I don't want myself discussed. My views about myself and my literary triumphs grow

less and less flattering as I see the end. I am no better than my neighbors and even that statement is gross flattery, for they are rot without knowing it, while I know better. My neighbors inspire me with vast respect. (Letters VI 440).

Contrary to what Crowley thinks, Adams actually liked this book, "but" he did not want to brag about it. That Adams had certainly written the biography with a sense of self-reproach has been discussed; but more importantly, as indicated in this letter, Adams not only could display an almost Puritanical modesty about his work, but a Puritanic obsession with his neighbors as well.

Ironically, both traits are linked, as the main reason for this modesty came out of an anxiety about what the neighbors may think. In his argument about Adams wanting to leave his name off the Life, Crowley clearly does not realize the tradition of modesty and anonymity in Puritan autobiography. Murdock writes that the

biographies written in seventeenth-century New England are, then, all primarily works of religious edification. Most of them were clearly designed for publication. The autobiographies was usually circulated in manuscript among a family and a group of friends, since there were obvious dangers that a man who made public the story of

his own life might seem to be sinfully exalting himself. But a biography of one good Puritan by another served to be the product of personal vanity. It was, moreover, a form of writing recognized as valuable even by those who were not primarily pious. (118)

Although the Puritans, particularly in how each was to be published, distinguished between the autobiography and biography, in Adams's case the two different modes had obviously merged into one. Ironically, despite his other misinterpretations, Crowley makes a very good observation about Adams's lack of a clear distinction between autobiography and biography. He argues that one reason Adams did not want himself mentioned in connection with the Life was because Adams had felt "an uncomfortable recognition of autobiographical elements in The Life" (Introduction ix). Crowley continues his argument by stating that "despite Adams's efforts to make his biography 'a mere mirror' of his subject, his own image is reflected as well" (Introduction ix). Certainly, Adams recognized his own reflection in the book and thus wanted it handled as he had The Education, but its publication was out of his hands. Interestingly, Murdock's description of the author's obsessive concern for his neighbors exactly mirrors Adams's anxiety in his letter to Elizabeth Cameron. (Adams's concern for his neighbors is not that he is afraid of appearing

vain, but instead it reflects a profound contempt for whatever they might think about his work. No matter the reason, however, Adams was still obsessed with his neighbors.)⁴

Finally, because Christ's teachings and his mission on earth seemed to have preoccupied a great deal of Lodge's thinking, in organizing the Life into an spiritual biography, Adams would not have had to search very hard for material. For example, Adams presents a letter Lodge wrote to Langdon Mitchell in April 1904:

Jesus Christ and his teachings, which are neglected and unknown, form a background against which the dark threads of the lives and passions and thoughts of worldly men should stand out like the black bars on the solar spectrum. I have re-read Renan's 'Vie de Jesus' and it's interesting in many ways and a 'beau livre'; but dear Mitchell, can you imagine a man spending ten years on the study of Jesus Christ and at last summing up his appreciations of the man in this phrase: 'C'est un charmeur!' It's staggering. (Life 132)

Adams records Lodge's astonishment at a modern writer's obviously blasé attitude about someone whom Lodge had thought was the greatest man to have ever lived. In a letter written again to Mitchell, Adams displays that Lodge even had everyday spiritual concerns: "'I'm shutting down

on Society, in which we've been wandering this winter to the detriment of all I value in life, and I'm getting to work-- God be praised. I wish I could have a talk with you about this and so many other things'" (Life 133). This passage not only underscores Lodge's monastic attitude, but his "'God be praised'" also echoes the Puritan sense of God's immediacy.

Therefore, with both public and private concerns to articulate, in the spiritual biography, Adams had found the most appropriate form to pay tribute to this alienated artist and friend. Similarly, Wharton, by mimicking Lodge's unique ideas of spiritual identity and presence in the world, had also found a way to pay homage to Lodge's spirituality as well (although in a somewhat smaller way). Thus, Lodge's spirituality was obviously an important aspect of his personality. Ironically, as Crowley has suggested, Adams did have to revert to subterfuge to convey his message in this biography, but the subterfuge, not unlike in The Education, involved nothing more than using a form that harkened back to the Puritan past. As the rich complexity of the Life of George Cabot Lodge demonstrates, Adams's mind could still produce a masterpiece (if only a minor one) even into the twilight of his career. Instead of the stunning theoretical brilliance of The Education of Henry Adams and Mont-Saint Michel and Chartres, Adams covertly had to rely on the residual power of a traditional form. In this last

book, even with his diminished strength, Adams again shows the careful reader why he has a dominant voice in American literature.

Notes

¹Because Wilson ignores the Puritan biographical tradition that Adams is working out of, he sees Adams's description of Lodge as lifeless. Adams had been more concerned with Lodge's spiritual life than his physical one.

²Mary Decker, in The Literary Vocation of Henry Adams, concludes that "Adams's rhetoric is patently if inconclusively jeremiadical" (5).

³In Adams's later period, Levenson interestingly argues that Adams had also been working through a lot of the other Puritan literary forms as well. For example, Levenson calls the "Letter to American Teachers of History" an "apocalyptic sermon" (374).

"Even with his most autobiographical texts, Adams would repeat much of the same obsessions found in Puritan culture. For example, Samuels describes the complicated pre-publication process of Adams sending The Education to those close associates he had mentioned in the book. Samuels writes that the

main part of The Education was probably in proof when Adams took up his stand again in Lafayette Square early in November 1906. Three months later the original forty copies of the privately printed

edition--later augmented to one hundred--began to go out to his intimates, only a week after the date appended to the preface, February 16, 1907.

(Adams 379)

Moreover, in his introduction to The Education, Samuels writes about the similar special publication of Mont-Saint Michel and Chartres. He explains that this "exquisite and learned masterpiece" had only originally been "privately printed in 1904 for his nieces and 'nieces-in-wish'" (xv). Therefore, in these last books of Adams's career--each one of them with either a autobiographical or biographical element in them--he residually reverted to old Puritan traditions of publication. He did not want his name on the original editions.

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